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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# VVARRES

Of the Emperour

# JUSTINIAN

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

Of the Vandall, II. Gotbicke, IV.

Written in Greek by

PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA.

AND

Englished by Henry Holcroft, Knight.

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Prince's Armes in S' Pauls
Church-yard. 1653.

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## The Preface.

Midst the throng of Historians, we have very few who were personally concerned in the actions they write of : few having, like Casar, wrote their own Commentaries:

Nay, the greatest part were not then in be-

ing; and so their Reports are but Conjectures, and their Books, transmitted to Posterity, are their Divination 1ather than their History. And, alass, those few who were Contemporary to their own ftory, how biased are their Traditions ! how are they commonly so faction'd and fided, that their Relations are but their Interests; delivering downwards not what they knew, but what they inclined to. And if any one amongst them be so unbiased, that he have no partial bent of his own, yet the awe which Princes or Generals have upon him, makes him many times fear, that his Truth shall be his Gaol, or Exile, all which confidering, the wary Author writes not a History, but his own Safety. But Procopius (as every one knows) was not onely alive in the times which he wrote of, but did for many yeares survive not onely the finishing of his History, but the publication also; and was a very material concerned Agent in all these Wars. And for his Impartial writing, take first his own word for it, where he saies about the beginning of all, wirer in erro, &c. He conceived indeed that Eloquence was decent in an Oratour, and that Poets might be excused for their Fables, but an Historian must went nothing but Truth: And then he goes on . Wherefore be bath not spared his dearest friends, and be their faults committed upon what terms they will, he fails not to charge them home with them. But if his own affertion will not serve the turn, goe but along

with him in his History, and thou shalt see, that (while Agathias and Epiphanen fis, two learned Writers, about the same time with Procopius, who if they chance to let any thing fall to the discredit of Justinian, or the Senators, they do it with exceeding great temper and caution; were yet fain to conceal their Commentaries with Manifelist the Emperour ) Procopius freely layes about him, fweetens no mans vices, cloaks no mans miscarriage, but impartially discourling of Justinian, and the great ones, doth as much arraign, as relate them to posterity. He severely indites John the Pretorian Prefect of flat impiety, Tribomanus the Queftor of grating avarice, Arethas the General for his deceitfull and faithless wit; and then he recounts the particular Bands of Souldiers, the feveral Garrisons and Cities, which became either a prey to the enemy, or were utterly deftraved by the base and unworthy demeanour of Bellas, Acacius, and the other Queftor. He folemnly rebukes Verus for his intemperance, Sergine for his haughty disdain and efferninacy, Maximinus for hisfloth, andhisgeneral ignorance in Martial affairs. And which is yet much more than all the reft, the gallant Belifarius, whose wise and valiant conduct (to omit his many other glorious atchievements ) did reduce two Kings, and brought them captives to Con. stantinople, and to whose same and renown the whole Hiftory feems to be one entire Sacrifice, did but once manage his affairs amis, and he hears sharply of it from Procopius; Bi-A Cde to più rin thi ri Bu cirour butti nouv in, O.c. Belifarius then returned to Constantinople with difrepute; for during five whole years together, he could gain no footing in Italy, but in all that time was forced to waft himself by stealth from one Port-town to another; whereupon the enemy did subdue both Rome ber self, & all other places with greater security. And as for Perusia, a chief City in Tuscany, he left it straitly besieged, and it was afterwards taken by the enemy, whilft he marcht for Constantinople. Nor doth Instinian himself escape his chastisement; for he often inculcates his unworthy deteining the Souldiers pay, his sleepy neglect of Military preparations, and his profuse reception of the vilest Barbarian, Isdigunas the Persian Ambassadour. How he handles his vices elsewhere, concerns not our present purpose; but evident it is,

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that all the countenance and indulgence, all the promotions and advancements (hereafter mentioned) bestowed upon him by the Emperour, were looked upon by Procopins, as encouragements to serve, not flatter his Prince; and as the rewards of his Loyalty, not the bribes of his Secresile. And all this did Procopins publish, the parties themselves being then alive. Which severity of his, as it cannot chuse but reconcile a great opinion and commendation of his veracity, so is it no emergency of hatred or calumny, but of clear dealing and integrity; not his Satyr against the Persons, but his just remorse for the Vices.

But though Procepius did publish this History in his own life time, yet it hath fince been the fate of this (as Nicolaus Alemannus observes, not of this onely, but of all the other writings of this worthy Author ) to be exposed maine, and mangled to the world. For though it was at first presented to Instinian the Roman Emperour by Procopius himself. and by him also dispersed in its native integrity, whereby it became the delight and darling of the whole Empire; Yet this happiness befell it for many hundred years before Printing was known. For the first man that committed it to the Press, was Leonardus Arctinus, who published that part of it which doth relate to the Gothick Wars; and in that also he put a trick upon the World, much misbeseeming so learned a man; for he quite suppressed the Greek copy, and concealing the right Authors name, fet forth a Latine Translation of his own, pretending it to be a Collection compiled by himself out of several Writers, and ftiling it De Bello Italico, A Tract concerning the Wars of Italy. Now the Greek Copy of this Translation of Aretinus doth Blondus Flovius recount to have been by his induftry first brought into Italy. But he for his part, fince his copy wants some passages, of which we are now provided, and feeing he inveighs against somethings which we find to be currente and justifiable, in those Editions which are abroad; was either deluded by the old Manuscript which he had by him, or elfe by the person who translated it for him. For he might very wel have forborn his censure, feeing he confesses himself to be altogether ignorant in the Greek Tongue. Christophorus Persona resenting the injury done

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done to Procopius by that Addition of Leonardus, did indeed restore him to his right again, calling the Book by his name, and translating it out of the Original Greek. And yet his Edition also is lame and infirm, being deprived of many parts. After all these, Raphael Volateranus did publish in Latine the remaining Books, namely of the Vandal and Persian Wars; but he also made use of as impersect a Copy as Persona did. So that neither of them, though they were both Library-keepers of the Vatican in Rome, did translate

out of the Vatican Copy.

And now, Reader, fince the imposture of some, and the ignorance or misfortune of others, hath till of late delivered this Author to posterity either as a spurious issue, or at best a cripple. Consider how much thou art indebted to the memory of the deceased Knight, the learned Translator; who hath been so carefull to hand it over to thee, not onely rendred in thy own language, that so thou mayest the better understand it; but also conferred and examined by the most Authentick Copies, that so thou mayst the fafer credit it. The Greek Edition which he hath translated for thee, is that of David Hoeschelins, who being about to fet forth this History, did first furnish himself with three feveral Manuscripts of the same Booksone out of the Duke of Bavaria's Librarie, the other two fent him by Fofeph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon, both which had undergone their judicious Masters Castigations before. Hoeschelins made choice of the Bavarian Copy, finding it the most perfeet and entire of the three. But so, as where ever he met with any various Readings in the other two, he hath placed them in the Margin.

In the Translation of these Books of Procopius into English, Sir Henry Holcroft doth exercise the same judicious liberty which Alemannus takes to himself, in rendring the Arcana Historia, written by the same Author, into Latine; not confining himself to the strict words of the Author (a course taken even by St. Jerom himself) but giving faithfully his sense and meaning: Well knowing, that all Languages have their peculiar Idioms, which being rendred word by word, would make a strange confusion, and impropriety in that Language into which they are east. And

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though the Learned Knight be not (as I have fayd) fo impertinently punctual to match the Author word by word, yet the Reader may be affured, that he hath most severely pursued his intentions; so that if Procopius were now alive, and skilled in our Language, it would never repent him. that his Book speakes English. And though I shall not (with Alemannus) charge Procopins himself with the imputation of Tautologies, and too prodigal Periphrafes (allowing much to the luxuriance of the Greek tongue ) yet I can safely ascertain the Reader he shall find this discourse far more contract and close, than in the Author himself; and so his expectation shall not linger so long, e'r it be fatisfied with the Events: And that nevertheless, he shall perceive no Material, nor Circumstance omitted: As the Logicians confined Fift doth strike as smart, and as tho. rough a blow, as the diffused Orators expanded Palm.

Where the injury of Time, or neglect of Transcribers hath left any breach, or Chasmin the Greek Copy (which in several places of this History doth unhappily befall) the knowing Translator hath supplyed the defect out of the Latine copies. And where the Translator himself hath suffered any impair, or casually committed some mistakes, they are both relieved by the able pen of Mr. Edmund Chilmend, by his exact comparing of the English with the Greek.

I shall now proceed to acquaint the Reader with some farther account of the Author, and this History. Procopins was born in Cafarea, a City of Palestine, and in the reign of Anastasius the Emperour came to Constaminople; where approving himself a person of excellent parts, general Learning, and exceeding great Prudence, he foon turned the eyes of the chiefest Romans upon him. Infomuch that Justine the elder, when his Empire was in very great Areights (the Perfians being then Victors over the Romans in War did prefer Procopins to Belifarins the General, to be of his Counsel. Suidas stiles him consessio, Secretaryto Belifarins; but He himself, who best knew his own employment, tels us about the beginning of the Persian History; that he was winds, Belifarins his Affeffor. What profession he was of before he arrived at this, and other places of trust and honour, is variously delivered by several Authors.

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thors. Evagrius, and Agathias call him Phroce, Oratorem; Suidas, Pines & operir. To explain which words, faith Hoefchelines, Ille eft Orator, qui causas in concione, in fore, in senatu agit; bic Latinis Rhetor, qui in scholis docet artem Oratoriam. Hinmhe Latines call an Orator, who pleads at the Barre; and him a Rhetorician, who teaches the art of Rhetorick in the Schooles. Blondus, and Sabelliens conceit he was a Physician: But the three former are doubtless so far in the right, as they all agree that he was Ping, an Orator, or Lawyer, and that by reason of his employment under Belisarius. For, as Alemannus judiciously observes, Ex eo ordine zijusuno Consiliarii. Tapopu Affeffores, exercitus ducibus funmifque Magifratibus dabantur. Counsellors and Affeffors were preferred to the Generals of Armies, and chief Magistrates, out of that Profession. The reason why some Anthors are of so different judgment in their opinions concerning the Profession of Procopius, may poffibly be, because there were three of that name, Pracopius Gazans, Procopius Sophista, and our Procopins Cafarienfis: Now the truth is, the two former are both called Sophifta, Rhetoricians, and Gazai too. being both of Gaza; and all three were likewife Countrymen ; both Gaza, and Cafarea being in Palestine. The first of these, and ours, lived both in Justinians time; by whom Proceeding, our Author, was not only continued in his employment under Belifarins, being never permitted upon any terms, either in the expeditions into Italy or Africa, to be removed from the General, but was prized at so high a rate, that Justinian did conceive the Roman Territories were as much established, and propagated by the integrity and advise of Procopius, as by the valour and prowess of Belifarius. And no sooner was Belifarius called out of Africa, upon his late Victories compleated there, but Procopius was fent to Carthage to Solomon, the then General, to fecure those parts; which being but newly subdued, were therefore capable of Revolt and Rebellion against the Roman Subjection. What employments he had in Persia, Italy, Rome, Naples, and Syracuse, himself discovers in this History; which several actions of his, though he mentions very modeftly, and by the by onely, as if he reputed them scarce worthy the relation; yet sure we are, they purchased

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for him fo great renown in the Common-wealth, that Fustinian did thereupon advance him to the dignity of those persons who the Romans did call Illustres; & hence it is that Suidas begins his account of Procopius, newind DASSPOSTA TILAL sime, O.c. Procopins Illustris of Cafarea in Palestine. After this he was preferred to be a Senator also, & at last having put forth all this Hiftory, he arrived at the highest dignity that can befall any Senator, namely ad Urbanam Præfecturam, to be Prefect of the City; and this was about the 25. of Justinians Reign. About which time he finished that Book, which he durst not then publish, and therefore calls it, wa-And, his Secret History. And now Instinian, having for (near upon leventeen years together delighted himself in having this History of his Wars divulged, and read by all the Nations subject to the Roman Scepter, enjoyned our Author to write that Book which he calls mei nor Kin Culling Of the

Buildings erected by the Emperour Justinian.

Theie are the known Books of Procopins, two whereof being not to our present purpose (though Sir Henry hath (as I am informed by those that should know )translated the Aviations, or Secret History (a book which none of the Ancients met with, but Snidas only, as appears by Evagrius, Agathias, Epiphanenfis, Simeon Metaphrastes in vita S. Saba, Porphyrius, and Photius in his Bibliotheca; as neither many other Learned men who wrote fince Suidas, as Zonaras, Cedremus, Anonymus in his Chronicon Vatican. & others, amongst whom was Cardinal Baronius, who could never attain the fight of it, though he much defired it & to my own knowledge, Agathias his History, who takes up the story, where Procopius leave off: All which may fee the light, kind Reader, if thy acceptation of this encourage their Impression) that is, the 'Ariadore, and that meiler Ko Cudrie, we shall not here render an account of. This History was by the Author divided into 8 books; 7 of them, namely those two concerning the Persian, those other two of the Vandal, & the three first of the Gothick War, as himself affirms in the fourth book; A Sa i Erre Birtes muruzider de Sasairlo Tite Popular de Xit. Were already divulged and known throughout all the Roman Dominions. But as to the certain time wherein they were severally published, Writers afford us no certainty. Yet this is most certain,

that

part of the books of the Persian and Vandal Wars, and a great part of the books of the Gotbick, were finished before the death of Theodora the Empress, that is, before the 22 year of Justinians reign: for in his Anias in he writes, that he was enforced in this History to conceal the trains which Theodora laid to destroy Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths, for fear of Theodora. And likewise our Author makes mention of the publication of all the first seven books, before the 26 of Justinians Reign, in his eighth book of these Wars; which book was written in the 27 of Justinians Reign.

But this eighth book is not so properly called the fourth of the Gothick Wars, because it is indeed Historia quadam Cinquestos, Miscella, as Alemannus stiles it; or as the Author himfelf, rounds, Varia, a Miscellanie, or History conteining the Wars of Justinian with divers Nations. And this eighth book was published about the very time wherein it was

written, viz. in the 27 of Justinians Reign.

To conclude, what great profit and delight is like to arise to the Reader in perufing this History, let himself imagine, when he shal meet here with Prudent Letters & Dispatches from Princes and Generals; Wife Laws and Provisions for the publique Safety; Politick Leagues and Confederacies to secure Interests; Elegant Speeches and Exhortations to animate the Souldier; Notable Examples of Vices and Virtues; Inevitable Stratagems to circumvent Adversaries: Lively Descriptions of the Scituations of Countries, Cities, Buildings, Hils, Seas, Rivers, and Fountains; Various and Interchangeable Turns and Inconstancies of Wars and Fortunes; in a word, all the Treasury and Wardrobe that can inrich and beautifie a History. Take one only remarkable passage concerning the last, in that City, which had been long the aim and envy of the world, Rome her felf. Alaricus the Goth gains her from the Romans; Genserick the Vandal doth force her from the Goths; Theodorick the Goth regains her to the Goths; Belifarius the Roman General from the Goths: Totilas the Goth from the Romans again: Belifarins receives her fackt and forfaken by the Goths: Totilas triumphs in her second Conquest: Narses the Eunuch subdnes both Totilas and her. So that in this very History, she is eight leveral times lost, and recovered.

THE



### The Contents of the Chapters of the first Book of the PERSIAN Warre.

CHAP. I.

He preamble of the Author, and of the Roman Archery then.

CHAP, II.

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HAP. IV. A digression of the breach of the law of the tower of Oblivion once, and the tracicall death of Arlaces King of Armenia, in the reigne of Pacurius. Cabades efcapes by the meanes of his wife and Seoles; Recovers the Kingdom by the aid of the Ephthalites.

CHAP. The warrs of Cabades with the Emperour Anastasius, for not lending him money. He besieges Amida, and takes it. The miracle upon his Souldiers by James the Hermit.

CHAP. VI. Captaines fent by Anastasius. By their negligence and disamion, the Romans are overthrown. The plot upon Glones, Governour of Amida, and his killing. The recovery of Amida for money.

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CHAP. IX. Belisarius, Generall of the East, is Commander of the Army, with Hermogenes. The duells of Andrew, master of a Wrestling Schoole in Constantinople, and his vi-Stories; Letters between Belifarius and Hermogenes, and Mirranes the Perfian Generall.

CHAP. X. The battell of Daras, and the overthrow of the Persians, by Belisarius and Hermogenes.

CHAP, XI. A Persian army under Mermeroes invades Armenia. The victory of Sittas against 30000. Persians, Pharangium delivered to the Romans by Simeones, to get the Persians gold mine there; And Bolus by Isaaca Persarmenian, brother to Narses and Aratius, lately revolted to the Romans, Sittas Subdues the Tzanians, a Nation by Mount Taurus and Armenia.

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Belifarius in Comagena is overthrown by Azarethes, the Perfian Generall. Cabades reviles Azarethes, for his veltory. The Perfian on from to know their loft men by arrowes in baskets.

CHAP. XV.

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CHAP, XVI,

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CHAP. XVI.

Cabades dyes. Chosroes his yongest Son succeeds by the help of Mebodes. The siege of Martyropolis is raised. The perpetual peace is made Anno 6. Justiniani; for which Justinian gives 110. Centenaries of gold. CHAP. XVIII.

A conspiracy against Chosroes by his brother Zames with one eye, who perishes in the plot. The saving of your Cabades by Adergudunbades, is the cause of his ruine. Mebodes, by Chosroes sent to the Tripos, and after slaine.

CHAP. XIX.

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CHAP. XX.

John the Cappadocian is ruined by the plot of Antonina in the tenth yeare of his office. Is benished to Cyzicum, made Priest; then absolutely undone, and sent to Antinoë in Egypt. And about this time another John, usurping at Daras, is Raine by the Souldiers.

THE



## THE HISTORY

Of the Wars of the F. M P E R O U R

## JUSTINIAN,

Written by Procopius of CÆSAREA.

Of the Persian Wars. The First Book.

#### CHAP. I.



ROCOPINS of CASAREA wrote the History of the wars that the Emperour Justinian had with the Barbarians, both Easterne and Westerne, and what the issue of them was; that the memory of so great Actions might not, through Tract of Time, be buried in Oblivion, and lost to the World; The preservation whereof he conceived might be of very great use, both to those that are now living, and to those that shall come after; in case that time should againe bring about the necessity of the like actions in any

part of the World. For the knowledge of a like History, suiting with that of any other Age, is of great advantage to those that shall have to doe with any Wars; in that it informes, what the success in the like former Actions hath been, and intimates withall what iffue the present, supposing the best Counfells being taken) in all probability shall have. He was conscious also to himselfe, that He was the best able to write this History; though for no other reason, the because He was chosen to be Assessor to Belisarius, the Emperours Generall, and so was present, in a manner, at all that was done in these

He conceived further, that as Eloquence became an Oratour, & Fables were proper for Poets, so Truth was that an Historiographer ought chiefely to look at. Therefore he spared not to note the Failings even of his nearest Friends, but gave an exact Account of all their Actions, whether they were well, or ill done. Neither will the Actions of any other Age appeare either of more use, or more Gallant, ( to him that shall but duely consider them ) then those that have passed in these Wars; for in most of them, as wee have been informed, almost Miracles have been done. Vnless a man will needes give the preeminence to former Ages, and will not vouchfafe to allow his owne to be able to doe any thing.

And therefore as in our Armies now we have fome Archers, others Sword and Buckler-men, and the like names of Souldiers that the Ancients had; yet will not some allow any of the Ancient Prowess and Valour to have descended down to our Age; shewing herein how pittifully ignorant they are of the Practife of those times. For they doe not at all consider, that the Archers in Homer's 'time (whose Profession grew to be a tearm of reproach) had neither Horse, nor Javelin, nor Buckler, nor anything else to defend themselves, but went on foot into the field, and were forced to find shelter for themselves some other way, sheltering themselves (instead of a Buckler ) either behind some Tomb-stone, or Pillar, where neither if they were put to slight, they could be fafe; nor, if their Enemies fled, could they do them any harm: Neither did they ever fight in open field, but alwaies, as it were, by stealth did, what ever they did. Besides, the way of their Archery was so lamentable, as that drawing their Bow-ftring to their breaft, they fo let their Arrow fly, which, in all probability, could not doe any execution at all, wherefoever it fell. And this was the manner of the ancient Archery. But our Archers now adaies go into the field, armed with Habergeons, and Greaves that come up as high as their knees. They have belides their Quiver of Arrows on their right fide, and a Sword on their left; and some of them have a Javelin also fastned about them, and a kind of short Buckler, as it were, but without any handle, made fast to their shoulders, which serves to defend their head and neck. They are also excellently well horsed; and though their horses run never so fast, they can with ease shoot either way, and annoy their Enemies, either pursuing them, or flying. Besides, they draw their Bow-string toward their Forehead, up to the right Ear, which gives such force to the Arrow, that where it lights it kils, no Shield nor Corslet being able to resist the violence. Some, confidering none of these things, onely reverence and admire the old times, not allowing any advantage to succeeding inventions. But all can be no impediment, but that in these Wars great exploits, and most famous have been done. First therefore, beginning a little higher, shall be declared, what happened between the Romans and Persians, in reference both to their Victories and Losses in these Wars.

#### CHAP. II.

WHen the Roman Emperour Arcadins drew near his decease in Constantinople, having a Son, Theodofius, not yet weaned from the breaft : He was troubled both for him, and his Empire, how to provide for both. If he should give Theodosius a companion in the Empire, he feared in effect he might prove his Sons Murtherer, fetting an Enemy upon him armed with foveraign power; and if he should leave him alone in it, it was likely some taking advantage of his desolate condition might usurp the Empire, and destroy him. In Constantinople he had none of his blood to be his Protector; and in Honorins the Uncle, he had no hope he could suffice for it; the Affairs of Italy being in so ill terms. The Persians no less troubled him, lest despising the Emperors childhood, they should ruin the Roman Provinces. Arcadius in this perplexity, though none of the quickest Wits, yet lighted upon a Counsell which preserved him and his State, whether it were by communication with Wisemen, which an Emperour cannot want, or by divine Inspiration For by his Testament he declared his Son his Successor, and Isdegerdes, K. of Persia, his Protector; whom he befought with his whole power and providence, to preserve both his Empire and Son. And thus Arcadins having disposed of the Empire, and his private Affairs, \* died.

Isdegerdes, before renowned for Noblenes, now shewed it more than ever, to deserve wonder and praise: For not neglecting the Injunctions of Arcadius, he kept perfect peace with the Romans, and preserved the Empire to Theodosius: By his Letters to the Roman Senate accepting the Protectorship, and threatning War against any that should rise against Theodosius: Who

\*Anno Domini 398.

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grown a man, and Isdegerdes dead, \* Vararanes King of Persia invaded the Roman Territories with a great Army ; but did no hurt, returning in this manner. Anatolins was sent the Emperors Ambassador to the Persian, who being come near the Army, leaped from his Horse, and alone, and afoot, went towards Vararanes, who demanded of the company, who this was; they faid, it was the Roman General. The King amazed at the exceffive honour, turned his horse, and rode away, and after him his Army. Being in his Country, he entertained the Ambassador with much curtesie, and yeelded to the terms of peace he defired, That neither should erect any new Fortification near the others boders; which if it were done, gave either fide opportunity of doing what they pleased.

Afterwards Perozes, King of Persia, with a great Army warred against the \* Perozes be-Ephthalites (a Nation of Hunnes, called white Hunnes ) about their Boundaries. These Ephthalites are a Hunnish Nation, but not mingled with other Hunnes, having no part of their Country bordering upon them; their dwelling being to the North of Persia, where is a City called Gorge; and fome skirmishing about bounds they have, being no \*Creaghters, as other Humes; but are seated in a good Land; Neither make they any Inroads into the Roman Territories, but onely with the Persian Armies. These onely Hunnes have white bodies, and visages not uncomely; and their course of life is not as of the reft, brutish; being under one King in a lawfull government, and dealing justly with themselves and neighbours, no less than the carrying the Romans, or any other people. Their Rich men have each twenty or more families in companions, to be their perpetual Camerades, and to partake in a community of their goods. When any Principals die, the Retainers use to be put into the same grave with them. Perozes invading these Ephthalites, Eusebins then Ambassador from the Emperor Zeno was with him. The Ephthalites made shew to be much affraid, and betook themselves to flight, and with much hast ran into a place compassed with steep mountains, and covered with thickets; between the mountains is a broad way, reaching far, with no way out, but fill continuing in the same circle. Peroxes suspecting no fraud, nor confidering he went in a strange Country, pursued without looking afore him; some few of them flying before him, but the most hiding themselves in the Fastnesses, who now had the back of the Enemy; and would not yet appear, that the Persians might be so far engaged within their Ambushes, and the Mountains, that they should not be able to retreat. Which the Persians apprehending (the danger now beginning to appear) were filent for fear of Perozes, but they defired Enfebins to admonish the King ( who saw not the ill terms he was come to) rather to advise upon some way to escape, than to hazard thus impertinently. Enfebins told not Peroxes the danger, but this tale; That a Lion once spyed a Goat bleating, and tyed upon a bank, and ran to make his dinner of him, but fell into a deep hole, which had in it a round narrow path without any way out, framed purposely by the owners of the Goat, which they fet over it, to bait the Lion into a fnare. Perezes at this tale grew affraid, left the Persians pursued their own mischief, and so went no further, but called a Council what to doe. The Humes now in fight, had guarded the entrance, that none might goe out. The Perfians then cleerly seeing the disaster, lamented; no hope appearing to avoid the danger. The King of the Ephthalites fent to reproach Peroxes for his sensless rashiness, in thus foolishly ruining himself and his people; but promised the Hunnes. should grant them their lives, if Perozes would adore him (being now his Lord) and swear his Country oath, that the Persians should no more invade the Ephthalites. Perozes consulted with the Magi, whether these conditions were to be yeelded to; Who answered, that for the Oath he might doe what he pleased, but in the other he should delude the Enemy by a trick: They had a custom each morning to adore the rising Sun; that he observing duly the hour, should meet the King of the Ephthalites, with his face to the rising Sun, and so adore, avoyding by this the disgrace. Perozes accordingly swore the peace, and adored his Enemy, and then went home with his Army.

\* Vararanes began er reign in Anno Dom.

gan in Anno

\* Nouades, so called because they have no fixt habitation , but move from place to place, carrying their waggons, and driving their flocks or heards before them, as the need of fresh paffure requires.

#### CHAP. III.

Ut not long after Perozes, neglecting his Oath, resolved to revenge this Dicorn; and affembling from all his Dominions both Persians and Confederates, he went against these Humes; of his thirty Sons leaving onely Cabades behind him, then grown a man. The Ephthalites hearing of it, and grieving to be so deceived, reviled their King, for betra ying their Affairs to the Persians. He smiling, demanded, what Affairs he had betrayed? whether their Country, or Arms, or Goods? They replyed, Nothing, but our opportunity, upon which all other things depend; urging him presently to goe meet the Enemy. But he refused, the Invasion being yet not certain, and the Persians still in their own Country; and staying where he was, he did this, Upon a Plain, through which the Persians were to enter his Country, he digg'd in a great space of ground a deep pit, extreme broad, leaving in the middle a narrow passage, for ten Horse a breast; over the pit he laid Reeds, and upon the Reeds Turfs, which concealed the superficies: And he directed his peo-ple, running from the Enemy, to keep close, and few in rank upon the firm ground, and to beware of the pit. On his Royal Palace also he hung out his Halas, or Gods, by whom Perozes swore, and breaking his Oath, invaded While the Enemy were in their own Country, he stirred now the Hunnes. not, but hearing by his Scouts, they were come to Gorgo (being in the utmost border of Persa) and marching toward him; himself with most of his Army flayd short of the pit, sending out some to shew themselves upon the Plain at a good distance, and no sooner seen by the Enemy, but to retreat amain, remembring the pit. They did fo, and (at the pit going few in rank) came clear to the Army. The Persians not imagining the plot, pursued furiously upon full speed, it being in an open Plain, and so fell into the pit, not onely the foremost of them, but the rear also; for pursuing furiously, they perceived not the mischief of those in the front, but falling on them with Horses and Lances, killed them, and were destroyed for company. Among whom was Perozes, and all his Sons. They say, being ready to fall into this pit, he took a Pearl hanging at his ear, a most fair one, and of infinite value, and cast it away, that none might hereafter wear so beautifull a Piece, as no King was ever mafter of the like; but to me the report feems not probable, for one in such a suddain distress to have his mind upon ought else. I rather think his ear was cut off, and the Pearl conveighed away. The Roman Emperor endeavoured to buy it of the Ephthalites, but they could not find it, though they took much pains in the fearch. Some fay, they found it, and fold another to Cabades for it. The Perfians story of this Pearl is remarkable, and not altogether incredible. They report, that this Pearl lying in a Scallopfish, not far from the Sea-shore in Persia, both the shels opened, and in the midft lay the Pearl, a most goodly spectacle: No where was found any thing to resemble it in bigness, or beauty, fince the world was. Upon this beauty doted a huge herce Dog-fish, following without quitting it day or night: Being to feek his food he would hunt for it, and having found it, fnatch it up, and hastily devour it; thento his Scallop-fish again, to fill himself with that beloved fight. Which a Fisherman once observing, but fearing the Fish, he durft not venture on it, but made the relation to King Perozes, who thereupon long'd to have the Pearl, importuning the Fisherman with fair words, and great hopes; and he yeelding to the requests of his Lord, is reported to have fayd to him; 'O my Liege, 'tis true, Wealth is defirable, and life more; but above all a mans children are precious ; for whose sake nature forces a man to do any thing. I will venture upon this fish, and hope to make you master of this Pearl. If I come off victorious, it is likely I shall be ranked among the happy men of the time. Doubtless you, being a King of Kings, will bestow great wealth on me. And should I get no reward, it is enough I have been my Prince's benefactor. If I be devoured, be it your part, Sir, to recomprice my children for their fathers death: So shall I have my reward in those nearest to me; and your glory will be greater, doing good to me in my children, for which I cannot give you thanks. That onely is pure gratitude, which is shewen to the dead. Having thus said, he departed. Being at the place where the Scallop used to swim, and the Dog-sish to follow, he sate upon a Rock, watching to get the Pearl alone from her Lover. At last the Dog-sish sinding a sish for his repast, fell aboard. The Fisherman left those who attended him, and making after the Scallop, caught it, and hasted to shore; which the Dog-sish perceiving, came to the rescue: The Fisherman, though not far from shore, finding he should be surprised, threw the Scallop on land, and presently was caught and devoured. His attendants ashore took the Pearl, and brought it to the King, relating what happened. Thus the Persians report of this Pearl. But to return to my former discourse.

Perozes and his Army thus overthrown (for who escaped the pit, fell into the enemies hand) the Persians made a Law; Not to follow the chase upon the full speed, though the enemy run away in that kind. As for the rest, that went not in this expedition, they chose for their King, \* Cabades, the yonggest Son of Perozes, onely surviving. And they were under the Ephthalises two yeares, and paid them tribute; untill Cabades, more confirmed in his kingdome, refused it: who afterwards governed Tyrannically, and made many Alterations, and a Law; That the Persians should have their women in common: which the Commons milliked, and taking arms deposed him, and kept him in prison, and chose Blasses King, the brother of Perozes, all his other Sons being dead: For of a private race the Persians might not chuse a King, if the blood Royal were not quite extinct. Blaffes succeeding, affembled the chiefmen of Persia, and propounded in counsell touching Cabades, whom the multitude would not endure to be put to death. Many feverall opinions being spoken, Gusanastades, a principall man, and by Office a Chanaranges (which with them is a Generall ) who had his government bordering upon the Ephthalites, shewing his knife, such as the Persians use to pare their nails with, aslong as a mans finger, and the third part of an inch thick; See this knife, said he, a very short one; yet can it doe that now, which within a while twenty thousand armed men will not be able : Intimating, that if they did not kill Cabades now, he would get abroad, and trouble them again. But they thought it not fit to kill one of the blood Royall, but rather to keep him in the Tower of Oblivion; where if a man be imprisoned, it is not lawfull to mention him; once to name him, is death; from whence the Persians gave it that name.

\* Cabades begen in Anno Domini 486.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Armenian Histories report, that once this Law of the Tower of Oblivion was broken, thus. There was a cruel War between the Persians and Armenians, for thirty two years, in the Reigns of Pacurius King of Persia, and Arsaces King of Armenia, of the race of the Arsacides. This war continuing, both were brought low, especially the Armenians. But being both distrustfull, neither sent Heralds to his adversary. In the mean time the Persians fell into a war with other Barbarians, inhabiting near the Armenians; who to make demonstration of their affections to a peace, invaded those people, acquainting the Persians therewith; and coming unexpected, slew most of their men. Pacurius pleased with the proceeding, sent to invite Arsaces, giving him his faith. And being come, he entertained him with much curtesse, and as a brother, used him with all terms of equality: and having mutually sworn amity and confederacy between the Persians and Armenians, he dismiss him. A while after, Arsaces was accused to attempt innovations, and Pacurius beleeving it, again sent for him, to communicate of their common affairs. He without delay went, and with him the gallantest Armenians, and Basicius his chief Captain and Counsellor, emi-

nent for valour and wisdom. Pacurius reproached them both, for forgetting their Oath, and plotting a revolt. They denyed constantly with oaths, never to have any such thought. At first Pacurins put them in hold with difgrace; but after demanded of the Magi what was to be done. They thought it not fit to condemn men denying, and not evidently convinced; but advised him a way, tobring Arfaces openly to accuse himself. They directed the Kings Pavillion to be floored with earth, half of Persia, and the other half of Armenia; and having used some spels upon the Pavillion, they prayed the King to walk some turns with Arfaces in their presence, to be witnesses of what paffed, and to charge Arfaces with violation of the league and his oath. Accordingly Pacurius sent for Arfaces, and walkt his turns with him in the pavillion, demanding, why neglecting his oath, he fought again to ruin the Persians and Armenians with a war. Arsaces ( the conference being upon Perfian earth) denyed, and protested himself his faithfull servant: But when he came upon the Armenian ground, suddenly, I know not upon what compulfion, he changes into a bolder stile, menacing Pacurius to punish this base ufage. With these high terms he went, till he turned again upon the Persian ground; where recanting, he became an humble suppliant to Pacurius. But no sooner again upon Armenian ground, but he returned to his threats; and by turning thus oft both waies, he concealed not his secretest counsels. Upon this the Magi condemned him to have violated the truce, and his oath. Pacurins caused Basicius to be stript of his skin, and the same filled with chaf to be hanged on a high tree. Arfaces he would not kill, being of Royall blood, but imprisoned him in the Tower of Oblivion. Not long after an Armenian, a favourite of Arsaces (who followed him this last journey into Fersia) accompanied the Persians in a war against some Barbarians, wherein he demeaned himself valiantly, and was a great means of the victory. Whom Pacurius bade demand what he pleased, and he should not fail of it. He demanded onely to doe fervice to Arfaces one day he would make choice of. The King was troubled to break a Law fo ancient, but to keep his word, granted his request, who by the Kings permission being in the Tower, adored Arfaces; and both embracing each other, made a kind of sweet lamentation of their fortunes, with much adoe untwining themselves. Having had their fill of mourning, the Armenian bathed Arfaces, dreft him, and put on him the Royall habit, and placed him upon a couch; where Arfaces feafted the company Princely, as he used before. Many discourses past in their cups, and things happened delighting Arfaces; and the drinking lasting till night, and much joying in each others company, they parted overwhelmed with contentment. Then they report that Arfaces said; That having spent this the merrieft day he ever had, with him he loved most, he would no more return to the miseries of life, and then he stabbed himself with a knife purposely taken up at the Feast. Thus the Armenian Histories relate of Arsaces, and that Law of the Tower of Oblivion to broken. But to return to my

While Cabades was in prison, his Wife attended on him, bringing him necessaries, whom the Captain of the Tower tempted, being exceeding beautifull. Which Cabades understanding from her, bade her yeeld to him. And the Captain getting her to his bed, became doting in love with her; giving her free access to her Husband, and to retire without impediment. There was also a Nobleman named Seoses, a great friend of Cabades, who watcht near the Tower for an opportunity to get Cabades out; who by his Wife advertised him of horses and men ready for him not far from the prison, and in what place. Cabades perswaded his Wife to let him have her garments, and to put on his, and stay in his lodging. So Cabades got clear of the prison, the Keepers seeing him, but taking him for his Wife, and so they neither stayd, nor troubled him. In the morning sinding the Wife in the Husbands chamber and apparel, they took her for him; and the mistaking prevailed some dayes, till Cabades was got far away. What became of the Lady, (the plot being discovered) and how they punish ther, I have no certainty,

the Persians therein not agreeing. But Cabades secretly with Seofes went to the Ephthalite Hunnes, and marrying their Kings daughter, brought an Army against the Persians; who finding themselves too weak, fled from the Hunns. Cabades coming where Gusanastades was Governour, said to some, that that Persian, which that day first came to offer his service, he would make Chanaranges. But he repented him of his words, remembring the Persian Law, for no Government to be conferr'd upon strangers in blood; but such onely to have the place, to whose race it did belong; and he feared, if any presented himself not of the kindred of the Chanaranges, that to keep his word he might violate the Law. But by chance his word was kept without injury to the Law; Adergudunbades appearing first, a young man, cofen to Gusanastades, and very expers in Martial affairs; who first saluted Cabades his Lord, adored him as King, and befought him to command him as his flave. \* So Cabades entring the Palace, and finding Blases unguarded, put out his eyes, as the Perfians use to malefactors ( pouring into them, being kept wide open, boyling oyle; or with a bodkin red hot melting an ointment into the infide of the eye) and ever after kept him in prison, after two years reigning. Gusanastades he put to death, and made Adergudunbades General. Seofes he made the Adrasta-daras Salanes; that is, Superintendant over all Offices and Armies; an office first held by Seofes in Persia; None before nor after ever had it. Cabades also established and secured his Empire, being witty and valiant, no man more.

Cabades reflored began Anno Domini 501.

#### CHAP. V.

Ffterward Cabades became in debt to the King of the Ephthalites, which not being able to pay, he prayed the Emperour Anastasins to lend him the money. The Emperour consulting with some about him, they disswaded him from it; shewing what the inconvenience would be, if he should confirm with his money the Barbarians friendship among themselves; telling him withall, It were better for him they should ever clash with one another. \* Upon this pretence onely, Cabades resolved to invade the Romans; and into Armenia he brought the first news himself with an Army, forraging the Country. Then, though in the Winter, he sate down before Amida, a City of Mesoporamia. The Amidenses, though having no Garrison (as having lived before peaceably and quietly) and wanting all manner of provision, yet stood out against the dangers and inconveniencies of the Siege. At that time one Tames, a Syrian, a just, and a very religious man, had for many years been a Recluse at Endielon, a Town distant from Amida a dayes journey, that so he might not be interrupted in his godly contemplations: And the neighbours, to help his good intent, had pitcht a pale about him, with spaces wide enough onely to fee, and conferre with fuch as came to him; and a roof over him to keep off rain and fnow. And there he had long continued, not yeelding to heats nor colds, and feeding on roots, and on them not every day, but fasting sometimes a good while together. Some Ephthalites scouring the Country, espyed this James, offered to shoot at him; but their hands suddainly benummed, could not draw their bows. Cabades, hearing the report of it in the Camp, would be an eye-witness of the miracle; and seeing it, was aftonisht, and all the Persians with him: he humbly therefore befought James to remit his mens offence; which he doing at the first word, they were instantly freed of their fears. Cabades then bade him demand something, thinking he would have askt some great sum. But he prayed him only to beflow on him such men, as in this war should come to him for protection: Which Cabades granted, and left him Letters for their affurance. And it being divulged, many from all parts came, and were preserved.

But Cabades with his Rams battered Amida on every fide, the defendants avoyding the stroak of the Engine with cross beams. And he gave not over, till he found the wall that way impregnable; as not falling, nor so much as

This War began in Anno Dom. 303.

shaking at so many stroaks: So strong their buildings were in ancient times. Failing therefore this way, he raifed a Mount, so high that it commanded the wall. To which the defendants drew a Mine from the Town, and by carrying out the earth from within the Mount, made it hollow, the outlide keeping the form it had, giving no suspition of any thing to the Enemy. The Persians mounted it, thinking as upon firm ground to shoot into the Town; But company pressing in, the Mount sunk, and almost all perisht. Cabades, at this despairing, resolved to raise the siege, commanding the Army the next day to retire. But the Townsmen now secure, flouted the Barbarians from their walls; and some common women drew up their clothes, shewing Cabades the parts which should not be scen by men. Upon this the Magi for-bade his retreat, affuring the King that ere long the Amidenses would shew him all their fecret and hidden things: So the Camp lay still. Some dayes after, a Persian found near one of the Turrets the mouth of an old Vault, onely with a few small stones covering it. He entered it alone in the night, and got within the wall, and when 'twas day, came and told it Cabades; who the next night went with some of his Army, and scaling ladders to the place: where he had a favourable chance. The faid Turret was guarded by Monks (the firictest kind of Christians) who that day observed an Annual Feast, and at night wearied in their folemn affembly, having taken a greater proportion of meat and drink than usuall, they perceived not the Enemy; who entring the Town by few at a time, ascended the Turret, and killed the Monks being fast asleep. Then Cabades set scaling ladders to the wall next the Turret; and day appearing, the Amidenses, who guarded the next Turret, perceiving their danger, came haftily to the rescue. Where after a hot conflict on both fides, at last they got the better, killed many of the men already come up, kept off those upon the ladders, and were very near quit of the danger. But Cabades drawing his Cimeter, forced his men up the ladders, threatning death to the comers down: And so having much the advantage in numbers, they got the better, and took the Town after eighty dayes siege. Much flaughter was done, till Cabades riding into the Town, an old Priest of Amida came to him, and told him; That it was not Kingly to kill men that were at his mercy. Cabades yet angry, answered, Why then would they fland out against me ? Because, Sir (replyed the Priest ) God would give you Amida, not by our wills, but your own valour. Cabades pleased with this reply, suffered no more execution to be done, but bad the Persians sack the City, and take prisoners, selecting the principall for himself. Then leaving a thousand Persians in garrison, under one Glones, and some few wretched Citizens to serve them in their necessaries, with the rest of his army and pri-foners he went home. To these prisoners Cabades used a princely courtesse; he let them all goe home free, and gave out they ran away. The Emperour Anastasius also dealt liberally with them, remitting the Citties tribute for feven years, and bestowing many benefits upon their City in publique, and on particular men; fo that they foon forgot their miseries. But this was after-

#### CHAP. VI.

But Anastasius hearing of the siege of Amida, immediately sent forth an Army against the Enemy: In which, besides the Commanders of companies, were Generals, Areobindus (who married the daughter of Olybrius, late Emperour of the West Generall of the East; and Celer, Commander of the Palatine Cohorts, called by the Romans Magister; and the two Generals of the Legions in Constantinople, Patritius the Phrygian, and Hypatius the Emperours Sisters Son. These were the four Generals; and with them went also Justine, who was Emperour after Anastasius, and Patriciolus, with Vitalianus his son, who afterward rebelled against Anastasius; Pharesmanes of Colchis, an excellent good souldier, with Godidasclus and Abesas, Goths, who

followed not Theodorick into Italy out of Thrace, both gallant men, and expert Souldiers : others followed of the best. So brave an Army went not against the Persians before it, nor since. They marcht not together: Every General led his own forces. The Præsect, or Commissary of Provision for the Army, was Appion an Egyptian, a principal Patrician, and valiant, whom the Emperour declared his partner in the Empire by a Patent, that he might have absolute authority in the expense of the army: which being long in levying.& marching but flowly, found the Persians, after this cursory invasion, gone home with their spoils. The Generals would not beliege Amida, hearing it to be abundantly provided with all necessaries; but were earnest to make an impression into the Enemies Country. And they marcht not in one body, but encamped severally. Cabades being near, and knowing this, entred the Ro-They, not informed of his being there with his whole army, man borders. supposed it to be some small party. Areobindus encamped in a town called Arzamêne; being distant two dayes journey from the City of Constantina. And Patricius and Hypatius in a town called Siphris, about 44 miles distant from Amida. Celer was not yet come up to them. But Areobindus hearing Cabades came with his whole army, quitted his camp, and ran to Constantina. The Enemy took the camp and baggage, but no men in it; and from thence with speed marcht to the other. But Patricius and Hypatius, having met eight hundred Ephthalites marching before the Persian army, had killed them all; and not dreaming of the army with Cabades, were passing their time merrily like Conquerors, laying down their arms and preparing for dinner. And they were washing their meat in the brook there, and some troubled with heat were bathing, which made the water run foul. Cabades having heard the fortune of his Ephthalites, marcht apace toward the Enemy, and by the thickning of the brook guest at the matter, and that the enemy was unprepared. So commanding to drive on with full speed, suddainly he surprised them at dinner, and unarmed. The Romans not able to abide their charge, ran away without driking stroak. Some were overtaken and slain, others fled to the Mountain there, and for fear leapt down the rocks, not one of them escaping. But Cabades fearing his enemies, the Hunnes, who now invaded his country, went home with his whole Army, and had a long war with them on the Northern borders thereof. In the mean time the other Roman army came, but did nothing, having no Commander in chief, and the Generals with their equality of power ever croffing one anothers opinions, Celer past the river Nymphins, and invaded Arzamene, (This river runs by Martyropolis, and is distant from Amida thirty five miles) and having forraged the country, soon went home. Areobindus, the Emperour sent for to Constantinople, and the others fate down before Amida in the winter. Who failing in their endeavours to force the place, resolved to take it by famine: And the besieged then wanted provisions; but the Generals not knowing it, and seeing the souldier weary of a winter fiege; imagining also, the Persian army would ere long come against them, they made hast in some way to rise from thence. And the Persians also doubtful in these difficulties, though they concealed their wants, and made shew of plenty, yet gladly they would make a handsome retreat. In the end a capitulation was made, for the Perfians to have a \* thousand pound weight of Gold, and so to render the City. The articles were performed, and the Son of Glones receiving the money, gave up Amida. For Glones himself was slain in this manner. The Romans being not yet set down before Amida, but not far from it, a peafant who frequented the City, and used secretly to sell to Glones at great rates, poultery, bread, and ripe fruits, promised the Generall Patricins for reward to put Glones and two hundred Persians into his hands. He promised him his demand, and sent him away. The man rent his garments, and came weeping into the town; went to Glones; and tearing his hair, 'My Lord, quoth he, I was bringing 'you of my best provisions; but I was met, beaten, and had all taken from ome, by these rogues whose custome it is to rob the poor peasants (being 'old Roman fouldiers) rambling in small parties; and who fly before

The Author reckens by furlongs; and Jayes here 350 furlongs. An Italian mile contains 8 furlongs.

\* Are ten Centenaries of gold. If there be but, ten ounces and balf to the Roman pound; then is a Centenary 3150. I. Berling And 10 Centenaries bere 31500. I. Berling.

the Persians, and robb the poore Countryman. Thinck Sir! how you may avenge us and the Persians. It is but hunting without the suburbes, and you will find good game: For they go prolling about not above foure or five in a company. Glones askt, how many would suffice for the business; He said fifty was enough, being to meet not above five together; but whatfoever should happen, it would be good to have 100, and if it were 200. 'twere the better; Store hurts no man. Glones chose 200, horse, and bad the man guide them. But he said, 'twas better, to send him before to discover these Roman free booters, and to bring the Persians word, who then might take their best orportunity, Glones approved of his counsell; and then he went to the Generall Patricius, and acquainted him with all the proceedings, who fent 1000. Souldiers, and two of his own Life-guard with him. These he laid in ambush, neer a village called Thialasamum, five miles from Amida, within a vally of coppices and bushes. Then he ran, and told Glones, his game was ready, and guided him and his 200, men into the enemies ambush. Being past a good space within it, unseen by Glones or his Company, he ran and called up the Romans ambush, and shewed them the enemy. The Persians seing them, were amazed at the fuddain accident; Retire they could not (the enemy having their backs) nor being in an enemies Country knew any other way to runne. As they could therefore, they put in order to receave the affailants, but overm atchtin numbers were broken, and all killed with Glones, which vexed his Son, that he could not stay to revenge his Fathers death, so that he burnt the Church of St. Simeon, where he lodged. Other buildings neither Glones, nor Cabades, nor any Persian, destroyed nor defaced in Amida, nor without it.

But to returne to my former discourse. Thus the Romans recovered Amida for mony, two yeares after the taking. Being within it, their own negligence appeared, and the Persians abstemiousness, finding, by comparing the quantitity of the victual left, and the Barbarians that went out, not above seven dayes provision remaining, though Glones & his son had long issued it out to the Persians more scarcely, then need could well endure; and to the Romans in the Town nothing, from the beginning of the siege; So that they were forced to eat unusual sood, and abominable, and at last one another. The Generalls, finding themselves thus deceaved by the Barbarians, reproached the Souldiers intemperance, and disobedience, who having it in their power to take the Town with all the Persians in it at mercy, had dishonorably transported the Roman treasure to Barbarians, and gotten Amida, as a merchandize for mony. Afterward the Persians (their warre with the Hunnes growing long) made a Truce with the Romans for seven yeares, concluded by Celer the Roman Generall, and Aspevedes for the Persian. Thus I have told the beginning and con-

clusion of these warrs with the Persians.

#### CHAP. VII.

But what happened concerning the Caspian Gates I will now relate. Mount Taurus of Cilicia passes first by Cappadocia; then Armenia, and Persarmenia, and then Albania and Iberia, and the other nations that way, free, or subject to the Persans, extending thus through many Countryes, and the surther it goes, growing to a greater bredth and height. Beyond Iberia, you come to a narrow way, reaching some six miles, and ending at a steep place unpassable; where for the way out, nature hath built a kind of Gate, anciently called the Caspian gates, or streights. Beyond which are faire champions well watred, and large plaines for horse passures; where are seated the nations of the Hunnes, and extend to the Lake of Maotis, who passing by the streights in their inroads into Roman or Persan provinces, come with their horses lustic, going not about, nor nor being engaged in ragged Countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged Countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries, save onely those six miles into Iberia; whereas by other passaged countries,

there

there, and by them a Fort; which through many owners, at last came to Ambazuces a Hunne, a triend of the Emperor Anastasius. This man growne old, and neer his end, offered Anastasius for mony to put the Romans in possession of the Caspian Gates, and the Fort. But the Emperour ( who used not to doe things unadvisedly) confidering that it was not possible to maintaine a garrifon in that place, wanting all commodities, and having no nation neer it fubject to the Romans, he thanckt the man much for his good will, but would not meddle with the thing. Ambazuces soone after died, and Cabades, forcing out his sonnes, possessed himselfe of the Gates. Anastasim also, after the truce with Cahades, at a place called Daras, built a very ftrong City, and named it then Anastasia, being distant from Nisibis about twelve miles, and from the Persian frontier three miles and a halfe at most. This building the Persian defiring to hinder, could not, having his hands full with the Hunnes. But having dispatcht that warre, he expostulated with the Romans for this building so neer his confines, and contrary to the Articles of Peace. Anastasius, partly threatning, partly pretending friendship, and with large presents, put it off. Another City also this Emperor built upon the frontier of Persamena, which had been before a village, and from Theodofins his name was called Theodofin. But Inastaling compassed it with a strong wall, which no lesse then the other troubled the Persians, being both as Rampires upon his Country. Not long after Anastasius deceasing, Instine succeeded in the Empire, the others kind-

red being rejected, though many of them very eminent men.

Cabades was also troubled, fearing innovation upon his house after his decease; For upon his Sonnes he could not transferre the Kingdom, without force question. His eldest, Casses, the law invited, but him he could not abide; the fathers opinion therein overruling nature, and the ancient Lawes. His fecond Sonne Zames, having lost an eye, the Law excluded, prohibiting to make a King having but one eye, or any other maime. But Chofroes, borne of the fifter of Aspevedes, he chiefly affected. But seeing the Persians admire the valour of Zames, as being a good Souldier, and a favourer of vertue, he feared least taking armes against Chofrees, they might ruine his house, and Kingdom. Hereupon he resolved to make a peace with the Romans, by procuring his Son Chosroes to be adopted by the Emperour Justine; which he conceaved the one-ly way to preserve the security of his Empire. To this purpose he dispatcht Ambaffadors to Constantinople, with letters to Justine, to this purpose. Your felfe know, that the Remeas have done us wrongs, which I am refolved not to 'urge; knowing that those in reason ought to have the Victory, who having the right on their fide, are yet willingly put to the worst, to gratifie their 'friends. But for this I must demand a favour, which binding our selves, and subjects by kindred, and the consequent thereof, good affection, may for ever settle to us the bleffings of peace. It is that you would adopt my Son "Chofroes, who is to succeed me in my Kingdom, for your Son. Instine was glad at the proposition, and so was Justinian, his sisters son, and successor designed, urging the speedy perfection, and drawing up of the adoption after the Roman forme. But Proclus crost it: who was affesfor to the Emperor (the Romans call this officer, Quafter) and a knowne just man, not to be bribed, nor hastily passing Edicts, or altring things settled : He opposing it, spake thus. I use not to meddle with novelties, which of all things I feare most knowing that they cannot possibly stand with safety. But were Ia very daring man, I think I should hrinck and tremble at the storme that is to be expected from this Act. For I Connot conceave any thing now in confultation, but with a faire pretence to betray our State to the Persians; who in plaine words, without disguising, or modestie, pray us to let them take our Empire from us; covering their groffe deceipt with simplicity, and their impudent proposition with a pretended defire of quietnesse. But you both had need to oppose this designe of the Barbarians, to the utmost of your power; you Sir! least you prove the last Roman Emperour; and you the General, least you block up your own way to the Empire. Some tricks covered with faire pretences, need an interpreter to the common fort. But this Ambassage bluntly, at first dash, will have this Chofcroes

He was Son of Vigilantia, fi-Ster of Justine, by a very obscure man, one Sabatius, an Illyrian. This Queftor or Affestor Imperatorisdi-Stated all Laws and Edists, and subscribed them. Which was war rant to the Prxfestus Pratorio to publish them, He judged a p ales to the Emperours person; and in summe had the care of the whole Empire commit ed to him. vid. No. titiam utriulq; Imperij.

roes heire to the Roman Emperour, Confider it thus, I pray. By nature is due to children their fathers estates: All Lawes, though differing in other things, do yet in this agree, both among Romans, and Barbarians, that children are to inherit their fathers estates. So that yeilding to this their first request, the e reft you must consequently grant. The Emperour and his Nephew approved this speech, consulting what was to be done. In the meane time came other letters from Cabades to Justine, to fend to him men of experience, for concluding of a peace, and to fignifie the forme that was to be observed in the adoption. Upon this Proclus more eagerly opposed the Persians proposall, and urged that they should rather adopt to themselves the Roman power and dominion; declaring his opinion, that it was fit they, as speedily as might be, should conclude a peace; and withall that some chief men should be sent; who being demanded by Cabades, in what manner the adoption should be, should answer, as is fit for a Barbarian; For the Barbarians adopt fons, not by writings, but by arming them, Accordingly Ambassadors were sent by Justine, and promise of fome greater men to follow, for confunimating all touching the peace, and Chofroes. There were therefore shortly after sent Hypatius a patrician, Nephe w to the late Emperour Anastasius, and Generall of the East; and Rusinus, sonne of Silvanus, a principall patrician, and one well knowne to Cabades. From the Persians came Seeses, their most powerfull man, who had the chief power over all armies and offices; and with him Mebodes, who was Mafter of the Palace in Persia. These meeting upon the frontier, treated concerning an according of the differences, and concluding a peace. And Chofroes came down to the Tigris, two dayes journy from Nifibis, that the peace being concluded, he might go to Constantinople. Many discourses past about their differences; and Seefes alledged, that Colchis, now called Lazica, antiently belonged to the Persians, and that the Romans held it from them unjustly. The Romans took it very ill that their title to Lazira should be questioned; But when they said, that the Adoption must be performed in a form fit for a Barbarian, the Persians thought this insufferable. So both broke off, and they severally went home. And Chofroes returned to his father, vowing to revenge this fcorn upon the Romans.

Mebodes afterward accused Seoses for mentioning Lazica without their Masters direction, purposely to break the Treaty, and for communicating therein first with Hypatius, who bare the King least affection, and crost the conclusion of the Peace, and the Adoption. Seefes being charged by his Enemies with many other things, was called to a judiciall tryall before the Persenate, who were all displeased with his new Office, and offended at his behaviour. He was a man free from corruption, and very just; but extremely arrogant. Which, though a vice naturall to the great Officers of Persia, yet in Seofes, themselves thought it to reign in extremity. His accusers charged him with the matters afore mentioned; and for not contenting himself with the ancient customes of the Persians, worshipping new Gods; and that lately he had buryed his Wife; the Persian Laws prohibiting the burying of dead bodies in the earth. So the Judges condemned him to dye. And Cabades feemed to grieve as for a friend, but would not pardon him; profelling that he was not offended with him, but he must not infringe the Laws: And yet he owed his life to Seofes, who was the chiefest cause of his living and reigning; and being thus condemned, he was put to death. His office as it began so it ended with him, none after him having ever the like Generall power over all offices and armies. Rufinus also accused Hypatius to the Emperour, will upon it discharged him of his Office; but after torturing some about him, he found no truth in the accusation, and so did no other harm to him.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Abades then defired to invade the Romans, but found this impediment. The Iberians of Asia, who are seated by the Caspian Gates to the South-

ward, have next them to the West, Lazica, and to the East, part of Persia. This people are Christians, as devout as any, and have alwayes been subject to the King of Persia. These Cabades would inforce to his Religion, writing to their King Gurgenes to do all things as the Persians did, and not to bury their dead bodies in the earth, but to throw them out to the dogs and birds. Whereupon Gurgenes revolted to the Emperour Justine, requesting assurance of him, that he should not leave him to the mercy of the Persons. Which he granted willingly, and fent Probas, Sifters fon to the late Emperour Anaftasius, a Patritian, with money to raile an army of Hunnes for his ayd, to Bosporus, a Maritime City lying on the left hand as you fail toward the Excise Sea, 20 days journey distant from Cherson, which is the farthest Roman City that way; all between being possessed by Hunnes. These Bosporians were formerly a free people, but lately they submitted to the Emperour Justine. But Probus returning without doing any thing, the Emperour fent Peter Generall into Lazica, with some Humes to ayd Gurgenes. And at the same time Cabades fent an army against Gurgenes and the Iberians, under Boes a Persian, his Generall. But Gurgenes finding himself too weak for the Persians, and the Roman fuccours not competent, fled into Lazica with his wife and children, and chief men of Iberia, and his brothers, whereof Peraniss was the eldest: and in the confines of Lazica stayd, fortifying in the fastnesses against the Enemy: Which hindred the Persians that pursued them, from doing any thing to purpose. Afterward some Iberians came to Constantinople, and Peter was remanded home. The Lazians also refusing to help to guard the Province, the Emperour sent an army commanded by Ireneus. Formerly the guard of two Forts at the entrance of Lazica from Iberia was carefully maintained by the Provincials, though enduring much : For no Corn nor Wine grows near, nor other commodity; nor for the fastnesses can be brought thicker, but upon mens backs; and they lived (being used to it ) upon Panicum, or Mill-seed, there growing. But the Emperour taking thence those Warders, put Roman Garrisons to keep the places; whom at first the Lazians supplyed with provisions, though hardly; but after refused the service, and the Romans abandoned the Forts, which the Persians seised on.

In the mean time, the Romans led by Sittas and Belifarius, invaded Perfarmenia, and having forraged much country, and taken many prisoners, they retired. They were youths then, their beards first springing, and Lanciers of the guard to Justinian the chief Generall, who foon after held the Empire with his Uncle Tustine. In another inroad into Armenia by Sittas and Belisarius, they were juddenly met, and put to the worst by Narses and Aratine, who not long after revolted to the Romans, and ferved under Belifarius in Italy. Licelarius also a Thracian invaded about Nisibis with another Army of Ro. mans, who retreated running away, and none charging them. Whereupon the Emperour discharged Licelarius, and gave Belisarius the command of the forces in Daras: And then was Procopins the Writer of this history chosen his Consellour. \* Shortly after Justine died, having before declared Justinian his Sisters Sonne Emperour with him. Justinian being sole Emperour; directed Belisarius, to build a Fort at Mindon, upon the confines of Perfia, on the left hand of the way to Nisibis: who having raised it to a good height, the Persians sent to forbid him, threatning to hinder it, not with words onely, but deeds. The Emperour hereof informed, and how Belifarius was not able with the Forces he had, to beat off the Perfians; he commanded Cutzes and Buzes, Captaines of the Forces in \* Phanicia Libani, to repaire thither with another Army. These were Thracians, and brethren, yong men, and rash in their encounters; They march't together to the building; where the Persians hindred, and the Romans assisted the workmen, all they could. In the fight the Romans had the worst, and lost many men; Cutzes and some other were taken: whom the Persians shut up in a cave perpetuall pri-

foners; and no Forces defending the building, they cast it down.

\* Anno Dom. 527. Justiniani I. who was declared Emperour with Justine on good friday being then the first of April, Anno Dom. 527. And Justine died the first of August after. SeeAlemannus Historicall notes pag 43. one of the fifteene Provinces subordinate to the Governour of the Orient : And these were there Duces limitanei; The Country bordering with Arabia, and the Saracens. Anno Domi-CHAP. /Justiniani 2.

#### CHAP. IX.

Fterward Justinian made Belisarins Generall of the East, and directed him to make an expedition against Persia: who levying an Army of good importance, came to Daras. With him was joined in the command, Hermogenes, Captain of the Emperours Guard, and sometime Quastor to Vitalianus, when he rebelled against the Emperour Anastasius. Rusinus also he sent his Ambassador, with direction to stay at Hierapolis upon the Euphrates, till he should fignifie his pleasure, there being some discourses on both sides for a peace. But Belisarius and Hermogenes had newes, that a Persian invasion was feared, to take Daras. Whereupon they provided to fight, in this manner. Neer to the gate toward Nifibis, a stones cast off, they drew a deep trench, with many passages through it; not dig'd in a right line, but thus. In the midft was a short Line : on either end whereof went out two streight hornworks, and from both ends of the horn-works, the trenches ran in right lines a great space of ground. The Persians soon after came with their army, and encamped at Amedia, a Village two miles and a half from Daras, where were Pituazes and Barelmanas with one eye, and other Commanders; the Generall of the whole Army being Perozes, by office a Mirranes, so called in Persia, who fent to command Belisarius, to make ready the bath, for the next day he meant to bathe in Daras. The Romans upon this provided strongly for the encounter, as being the next day to fight. The Sun up, and feeing the enemy come on, they put in order of battell, thus. The farthest point of their lefthand Line, which ran from the horn-work there, to a hillock, Buzes possest with store of Horse, and Pharas the Herulian with three hundred of his Countrymen. To the right hand of these, on the outside of the trench, in the Angle made by the Line and the horn-work, stood Sunicas, and Augan, by birth Massagets, with 600 Horse; that if Buzes and Pharas should be routed, they wheeling about, and getting the backs of the enemy, might readily fecond the Romans on that fide. On the other hand they were embattel'd in the same manner: The point of the Line that way was made good with store of Horse, commanded by John the fon of Nicetas, Cyrillus, Marcellus, Germanus, and Dorothew; & at the right hand angle were placed 600 Horse, commanded by Simas and Ascan, Masagetes; who were likewise ( if John should be routed ) to fall on from thence, upon the backs of the enemy. All about the trench food the rest of the Horse, and the Infantery; behind whom toward the middle, stood Belisarius and Hermogenes. Thus were the Romans ordered, amounting to 25000; the Persian being 40000 Horse and Foot. They stood both in rank (their Fronts against each other) striving to make it as deep, as might be. Neither began the fight; but the fersians seemed to wonder at the Romans order, musing what they would doe. Towards evening some Horse from their right wing charged the Troupes of Buzes and Pharas; who retreating fair and softly, the Persians did not pursue them, but stood still; fearing to be compast by the Enemy. The retiring Romans then of a suddain charged them; who staid it not, but gallopt home to the Batallion; and Buzes and Pharas put themselves into the same place and order again. Seven Persians in this encounter were slain, whose bodies the Romans carryed off. As their battels flood thus, a young man, a Persian, spurred up to the Roman army, challenging any to fight with him. No man daring to undertake him; one Andrew, a follower of Buzes, no fouldier, nor trained to the wars, but the master of a Wrestling school in Constantinople, and following the army to attend Buzes in the bath, being a Constantinopolitan born, without provocation by Buzes, or any other, adventured the combat. And the Barbarian looking about him which way to affault him, Andrew prevented, and with his Lance hit him on the right pap, so strong a blow, that the Perhan fell from his horse, and Andrew, as he lay, with a short knife cut his throat. At which, from the Town-wall, and the Roman army was a huge shout. But the Persians being grieved at it, sent out another horsman, valiant, and very

tall, no youth, but with some gray hairs. Who approaching the Romans, and slashing with his whip often, made his challenge also. None presenting themselves, Andrew, though prohibited by Hermogenes, stole into the field; and both with their Lances made a surious charge. Their Lances broke upon their Corslets; and their horses heads meeting, down they fell with their riders; both falling neer each other. And striving to rise, the Persians heavy body could not so easily: But Andrew by the advantage of his practise in the Wrestling school, first got up, and struck the other as he was upon one knee, and having him down killed him. Upon which a greater shout than before was made from the town and Roman army; and the Persians loosing their bataillion, retired within their trenches, it growing dark. The next day came 10000 men from Nishis to the Persians. But Belisarius and Hermogenes wrote this Letter to Mirranes.

All men confess peace to be the chiefest of blessings, and consequently a Peace-breaker to be guilty of his own and other mens mischiefs. So that that Generall is best, who is apt to end a war in a peace; whereas you bring a caustess war upon us, while all stands well between the Persians and us, and our Princes are consulting upon terms of peace, and our Ambassadors near at hand to accord all differences, if some desperate effect of this your invasion choak not our hopes. Draw home your Army therefore, and be not an obstacle to so great a blessing, least you prove authour of the mischiefs likely to fall on your own Nation. To these Letters Mirranes return-

ed this answer.

I should be perswaded by your letters to doe what you desire, if it were not a Letter from Romans; who can easily promise, but their performance is not to be hoped; though you confirme your agreements with oath. So that tired with your deceipts, we are forced to come armed; and expect nothing, my deare Romans! now, but war with us. For here will we die, or grow gray, till you have done us right. Belisarius

wrote againe unto him.

Good Mirranes! you must not humour your own arrogance, nor lay false imputations upon others; we have said it, and truly, that Rusinus is coming in Ambassage, and not farre hence: Which shortly your selse will know. But since you desire warre, with Gods help we shall oppose you; who will assist our peaceableness, against your arrogance; who being by us invited to peace, reject it. The Letters we have written both, we shall hang up upon our Ensignes in the battell. Mirranes to this replies agains.

Neither are we entred into this warr without Gods; but with them shall come upon you; who we hope to morrow will put us in possession of Daras. Let there be made ready therefore for me the best bath in the town. Belisarius then prepared for the

battell.

#### CHAP. X.

And the next day, Mirranes about Sun rising, calling his Souldiers, made a speech to them; That he knew Persians in dangers, not to take their courage from their Captains orations, but from their own vertue, and awe of one another. But seing them dispute, how the Romans, not using without tumult and disorder to come to sight, receaved the Persians now with an order so little belonging to them: Least upon a false conceipt they should commit error, he warned them, not to suppose the Romans upon the suddaine grown more valiant, and expert Souldiers, but rather cowards more then ever; being so affraid of Persians, that they dare not embattle without making a trench to defend them; nor with it begin a sight, but are glad, and thinch their business spedd above their hopes, if they are able to retire to their walls, the Persians not charging them: Hence were they in no disorder, not coming to the hazard of a battell. But if the sight come to handy blows, then sheir cowardize and want of experience will put them into their wonted disorder. And for themselves he bad them have their thoughts upon the judgement of their King of Kings, expecting a hase punishment, if they doe not now fight as becomes the valour of Persians.

Mir ranes having thus encouraged his Souldiers, led on against the enemy. Belifar ius also and Hermogenes, drawing out their troupes from their trench; exhorted them to consider by the former fight, that the Perlians are not invincible, nor immortall; and that they were beaten by them formerly through their own difebedience to their commanders, not by any advantage of valour or strong bodies in the enemy. Which fault they may easily amend. Indeed the crosses of fortune no industry can cure, but of amans faults; his own will may be the Physician. So that if they refolve to obey directions; the day will be theirs: and the enemy failing in their onely considence, (the Romans disorder) will goe off, as they did in the former encounter. And for the enemies nombers (their greatesh scare-crow) he had them despise it : Seing their foot was nothing els, but a multitude of miserable peasants, who come to the warre onely to sappe a wall, or rifle a dead body, and other things to serve the Souldier: having no armes to trouble much an enemy; and their bucklers no bigger then to ward a shot onely. So that if they fight bravely this day, they will both vanquish the Persians now, and restraine their insolence from invading the Ro-Belifarius and Hermogenes having made this exhortation, and feing the Persians coming on, ordred the Army, as before. The Persians stood oppofite in front; Mirranes, not placing so the whole Army, but the one halte onely, the other shood behind him, to receave men from the fight, and to give on fresh, and so in their turnes to come all to fight. The band onely, named Immortal, he commanded to frand still, till himself gave the signall: Who stood in the front, giving the command of the right wing to Pityazes, and of the left to Bare [manas. The Armies being thus embattell'd Charas came to Belifarins and Hermogenes; and faid thus: I fee no great fervice I can doe upon the enemy, flaying here with my Heralians : But if covering our felves under yonder rifing ground, when the fight is begun, we shall suddainly from the hillock charge, shooting the enemies backs, in likelyhood we shall ruine them. Belfarins approved it, and accordingly it was done. Neither side began the fight till noone, which being past, the Persians gave on : Who put it off to that time of the day, because themselves use to eat about evening, and the Romans at noone; and if they charged them fasting, they thought they would not endure the fight fo well. At first the arrowes flew from both fides, and with their multitude made a kind of duskiness a long time, and slew many. The Persians arrowes came much thicker, by reason of their fresh men still renewing, which the Romans did not marke : Who notwithstanding had not the worse, a strong wind blowing upon the Persians, and not suffering their shot to do much effect. The Arrowes being spent, they used their Lances, on both sides, and came up closer. The Romans left wing was in most distress, where the Cadifens, with Pityazes charging fuddainely and furioufly, routed them & kill'd many in the execution. Which Sunicas and Aigas perceaving, gallopt amaine to them: But first the three hundred Herulians under Pharas came down from the hill upon the enemies backs, and did wonders, specially upon the Cadifens: who when they faw Sunicas too giving on upon their flanck, ran away. And there the overthrow being cleer, the Romans on that fide joining, made a great flaughter among the Barbarians; fo that of their right wing they loft about 3000. The refidue escaped hardly to the Bataillion; and the Romans chasing no farther, both parts flood still in their orders; And such was the successe on that side. But Mirranes fent the Immortall band, and many others closely to the left fide : which Belifarius, and Hermoganes perceaving, fent Sunicas and Aigas, with their fix hundred horse, to the angle of their right hand line, where Simus and Ascas stood, and behind them many troupers of Belisarius. The Persians left wing commanded by Baresmanas, with the Immortalls, charged the Romans with full career: who not abiding it, fled. Then from the Angle, the Romans, and those behind them gave on hotly upon the Barbarians flanck, as they purfued, and cut their Army in two, leaving the most to their right hand; the rest to the left, among whom was the Ensigne-bearer of Baresmana, whom Sunicas with his lance wounded. The Perfians, who pursued foremost, feing their ill case, turned about, and leaving the chase, rode against these; and so came to be charged both wayes by the Romans; For they that fledd, knowing

knowing what happened, turned head. The Immortall band, and the other Persians there, seing the great Ensigne taken down, and lying upon the ground; they with Baresmans, presently charged the Romans; who receaved them; and sirst Sunicas kill'd Baresmanas, and threw him from his horse. Then the Barbarians struck with seare, thought no more of sighting, but ran away in confusion. The Romans compassing them, as they could, killed about 5000. So the Armies moved, the Persians to their retreat, the Romans to the pursuit. The Persians foot in the overthrow threw away their buckless, and surprized in contustion were cut in pieces. The chase lasted not long, Belisarias and Hermogenes not suffering them to follow surther, least the Persians might turn head, and rout them pursueing without order. They thought it enough to keep the victory entire: For before that day, t'was long since the Persians were overthrown by the Romans. Thus they parted then; nor would the Persians come to, any more battells. Some skirmishings there were upon inroads, wherein the Romans had not the worst. And this was the success of the Armies in Mesopotamia.

#### CHAP. XI.

DIIt Cabades fent another Army into the Roman Armenia, confifting of Perfarmenians, and Sunites (who border upon the Alans) and three thoufand Sabirian Hunnes, a very warlike Nation. The Generall was Mermeroes, a Persian, who encamped in Persamenia, three dayes journey from Theodosiopolis, preparing for the invafion. Dorotheus was then Generall of Armenia, a wife man, and who had feen many warrs; but Sittai, Generall of the Forces in Constantinople commanded the Armenian Army in cheif. These hearing of Forces levyed in Perfarmenia, sent two Lanciers to discover the enemies power. To whose Army they came, and having observed all, and returning, met in a village fome of the enemies Hunnes, who took one of them named Dagaris, the other got away and brought newes to the Generalls. Who instantly armed their Forces, and suddainely set upon the enemies campe; who frighted with the fuddaineness, ran away without firlking ftroak. The Romans killed many and rifled their Camp, and then rode back againe. But not long after Morneroes with his Army entred the Roman territory, and finding the enemy neer the City of Sattala, he encamped in a village called Octabe, seven miles from Sattala. Sittas behind a hill (whereof are many about that City, though scituate in a plaine) with 1000. men lay close, directing Dorotheus with the rest to keep within their trenches, seing they were not able to stand the enemy being 30000. ftrong, and themselves not half the number. But the next day the Barbarians came to their trenches, and were compassing them; when suddainly seing Sittal coming down from the hill, and not being able to judge the number, because of the dust, then great in the Summer time, they thought them more then they were, and so left compassing, and made hast to draw together into leffe ground; which Sittai to prevent, divided his men into two Troupes, and charged them coming from the trenches. Which the Romans therein perceaving, took courage, and fallyed all upon the gallop, and charged the enemy also; and having them thus in the midft of their Tronpes, they routed them. But the enemy exceeding them in numbers, made head; and the fight was herce, and at handy froakes, and fome thore chafes upon one another, being all Horfemen. Then Florentine a Thracian, Captain of a Troupe of Horfe, ruffit into the midft of the enemy, and took away the Generalls enfigne, and throwing it down to the ground, gallopt back, but was over-taken and cut in pieces in the place, and so was the greatest cante of the Romans victory. For the Barbarians losing sight of the chiefe Ensigne, fell imo seare and disorder, and retired within their Camp, having loft many in the fight. The next day they march't home, and none followed them; The Romans thinking it much, first to bear fo many of them in their own Country, and now when they invaded them, to fend them home vanquiffie by a leffe number, and with nothing done

Anno Domini. 529. Justiniani 3.

The Romans then also took in some townes of the Persians in Persamenia, and two Forts called Bolus and Pharangium, where the King hath a revenue out of gold mines. A little before also they had subdued the Tzanians, who lived formerly within the Roman land, a free people : Concerning all which thus it was. In the way out of Armenia into Persarmenia to the right hand is Mount Taurus, reaching to Iberia, and the nations before named, To the left hand the way is steep with ragged Mountaines over head, covered with perpetuall clouds and fnow, whence the Phasis springing runns into Lasica. Here anciently have dwelt these Transans subject to none, formerly called Sani, using to robb the neighbouring Romans, and living hardly and upon what they could steale, their own Country bringing forth nothing good to feed on. The Emperour therefore gave them a pension in gold, not to robb those parts. For which they tooke their Country Oath, and broke it, coming still unlookt for, and mischieving the Armenians, and other Romans beyond them, even to the sea. They made short inroads, going quickly home; and if they met a Roman Army, were beaten, but impossible to be taken, by reason of their ftrong Country. But Sittas before this warre overcoming them in fight, and using many allurements both by words and deeds, gained them absolutely, that they became Civill men; and were enrolled in Roman bands, and marcht with their Armies, and turned Christians also. Beyond these Tzanians Country, a deep rockie vally runns, as farr as Mount Caneasu; wherein are populous villages, and vines, and other fruits in abundance. For three dayes journy, it is tributary to the Romans; but further begin the marches of Perfarmenia, where is that mine of gold, by Cabades committed to the charge of one Simeones: Who seing the King in the heat of a warre, cosened him of the revenue thus. He yeilded himself, and the Fort of Pharangium to the Romans, who demanded not the gold of the Mine, being contented, if the Persian loft the benefit; and the Persians could not force away the Romans; the Country was fo fast and strong. About the same time also Narses and Aratins, who had some blowes with Sittas and Belifarius, (as I faid before) revolted to the Romans, with their Mother, whom Narfes, the Emperours peculiar Treasurer entertained, (being also a Persamenian) and gave them great gifts. Which Isaac their yonger brother hearing, got secret conference with the Romans, and delivered them the Fort of Bolus, standing not farr from Theodosiopolis, by causing them to hide Souldiers neer, whom he in the night time closely let into the Fort by a Posterne; and thus he came to Constantinople too.

#### CHAP. XII.

Anno Domini. 530. Justiniani 4. In the meane time the Persians overthrown by Belisarim at Daras, kept together about those parts, till Rasinus coming to Cabades told him. That
Justinian his brother, had sent him to him with a just complaint, against the Pertians, for entring his Country in Armes. That it would become so great a King, and so
prudent, sather to procure peace, then a troublesome war to himself and his neighbours.
In which hope, he said, he was come to him, that for the future both of them might
enjoy the benefit of peace. Cabades replied; O Son of Silvanus! Doe not recriminate; knowing, (no man better) that you Romans are the chief cause of these troubles, Wee for the common benefit of m both, took the Caspian Gates, forcing thence
the Barbarians. The Empirour Anastasius, (you know) might have purchased
them, but would not, teast he should be put to a great expense for us both, by maintaining there forces continually. And from that time we have lodged a Garrison
there, and maintained it; and you thereby have dwelt in your own Country, unspoiled
by Barbarians on that side, and possessing quietly your estates. But as if this were
nothing, you have fortissed at Daras, and made it a great City, and a rampier aguinst Persia; a thing express prohibited in the treaty with Anatolius: And hereby
our affaires have been ruined with toyles, and the expense of two Armies, the one to
binder the Massagetes from forraging both our Countries, the other to restraine your
incursions; wee complaining haveof and demanding either your joint Forces at the
Caspian

Caspian Gates, or Daras to be dismantell'd, you have flighted it; nay advanced your designe with a greater injury, (if I remember) your fortisteing at Mindon. So that the Romans may chafe peace, and they may chuse marre seither by righting us, or proceeding in the contrary. For the Perhans shall not lay down their armes, till the Romans (as they ought) either joyne in the Guard of the Caspian Gates, or dismantle Daras Cabades having thus faid, dismiss't the Ambassadour, intimating to him, that for a fumme of mony he would be content to lay afide all his quarrells to the Romans. Wherewith Rafinus acquainted the Emperour at his returne to Conflantinoples whither foon after came Hermogenes. And fo the Winter ended,

and \* the fourth yeare of Justinians raigne.
\* In the beginning of the Spring, 15000. Persians all horse, under the command of Azarethes a Perflan , invaded the Romans ; and among them Alaman, darus the Saracen, with great numbers of Saracens. In this invalion, they did not as they were wont, enter by Mesopotamia, but by Comagena, now called Emphratelia. The reason of forbearing Mesopotamia now, and why it is so called is thus. From a Mountaine of Armensa not very fleep, being five miles to the North of Theodosiopolis; iffue two springs, presently making, the right hand spring, Emphrates, and the left, Tignis. Tignis without winding, goes strait on to Amida, taking in ho waters by the way, and by the North-fide of it paffes into Affria. But the Enghraces, running not farr, vanishes, not finking under ground but with a kind of miracle. Over the water lyes a bogg, deep and fix miles long, and two miles and a half broad, wherein much reed growes, and the mudd is to fliffey that to paffengers it seemes firme ground. Horse and Foot and Waggons paffe upon it every day, and stirr not the ground, nor discover it for a bogge. The inhabitants every yeare burn off the reed, that it stop not the way: and sometime a strong wind blowing, the fire pierces to the roots, and discovers the river in a small channell: And the mudd landing up againe foon after, reftores to the place the forme it had. Hence this river runs to the Country of Ecelefa, where was the Temple of Dana in Tauri; Iphigenia, Agamemnons daughter, with Orefes, and Pilades, flying thither with the image of Diana. The other Temple standing to this day at Comana, is not that of Tana ri. But thus it was. Orefter stealing with his fifter from Touri, fell into a great fickness; and enquiring of the Oracle for cure, was answered, that he should have no help, till he had built a Temple to Diana, like that in Tanri, and there should shave off his haire, and call the City by it. Orestes hereupon travelling in these parts, saw the river Irw, springing from a steep Mountaine, and supposing it to be the place designed by the Oracle, built there a faire City, and a Temple to Diana, and shaving his haire, called it Comana, which continues to this day. But this abated not the disease, which raged rather more. So that travelling, and seeking yet further, he found a place in Cappadocia, very like Tauri, and I have wondred feing it, taking it for Tauri it felf. The Mountaine there is absolutely like Taurus, and so called also, and the river Sarm there very like the river Euphrates. So there Orestes built a goodly City, with two Temples in it, the one to Diana, the other to his fifter Iphigenia, which the Christians have made Churches, not altring the buildings at all. This City is called the Golden Comand, where he cut off his haire, and recovered of his disease. Which some hold to be no other, but the madness he fell into, for killing his own Mother. But the Emphrates from this Tannin Ecelesa of Armenia, runs Southward by much Country, and takes in many rivers, and among the rest Arsinus, (which comes down from Persarmenia) then grown large, paffes into Lencofyria, now called the leffer Armenia, the Metropolis whereof is Melitene, a faire City. From thence it runs by Samofata, and Hierapolis, and many other townes, to Affria; where both rivers meeting, end in one name of Figris. The Country from Samofata beyond the river was anciently called Comagena, but now Euphratesia from the river. The Country on this fide , between it and the Tigris, is called Mefopotamia : Some part of which hath severall other names, as Armenia, unto Amida: Edeffa alto, with the towns about it: And Ofrhoene, from Ofrhoes, who anciently raigned there, when they were confederates of the Persians. The Persians therefore

\* Anno Domini. 530. Justiniani 5. Anno Domini. 531. Justiniani 5.

having taken Nisibis, and other places in Mesopotamia from the Romans, when they invaded their country, ever neglected the Province beyond the Emphrates, being without water and wast, and there drew together, being their own country, & near an enemies inhabited, & from thence used to make their invasions.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Irranes also upon his return with his Army overthrown, having lost most of his men, had a sharp punishment from the King, who took from him his Head-tire of gold and pearl, which tied up his hair; a mark of the greatest honour in Persia, next to the King: where none may wear gold, ring, nor belt, nor buckle, nor any thing of gold, but by the Kings grant. Cabades then being in doubt how to invade the Romans; for Mirranes failing thus, he could not prefume upon any other; Alamundarus, King of the Saracens, advised him thus, 'In all things not to trust to Fortune, nor in all wars to expect the better; being neither reasonable, nor mans condition; but the conceit of it prejudicial. For mens unreasonable hopes of success, failing fometimes, (as they may) prove their vexation. That men having not ever Fortune to presume on, put not war bluntly upon hazards, though they have the advantage of their enemies, but fludy to deceive them with flratagemes. In a danger upon equal terms is no affurance of victory. That therefore he should not grieve for the misfortunes of Mirranes, nor tempt Fortune again. If he enter by Mesopotamia and Osroëne, where the Cities were never stronger, norbetter guarded with souldiers, that he will have no sure bargain of it. That the Country beyond the Euphrates, and Syria next it, hath no fortified City, nor considerable Forces; but he shall find Amioch the chief Roman City of the East for wealth, bignes, and populousnes, with no souldiers in it;and a common people thinking upon nothing but Holy-daies, and Feafts, their perpetual quarrels with one another in the Theaters. Which he may take by surprise, and return home, without meeting an Enemy, and before the Forces of Mesopotamia can have the news of him. That he should take ono thought about water, or provisions : himself would guide the Armythe best way. Cabades neither disputed against this advise, nor distrusted it; knowing Alamundarus a wileman, an experienced fouldier, and faithfull to the Persians, and very valiant; who for fifty years, had brought the Romans into low case, from Egypt to Mesopotamia forraging their country, and driving all afore him, burning cities, and making innumerable flaves, whom he kill'd, or fold for a great deal of money. He made his inroads fo fuddainly, and advantageously, that none encountred him: The Commanders feldome hearing of him, before he was gone with his booty. And when any overtook him, he defeated them, either charging them unprepared or pursuing disorderly. Once he took prisoners Demostratus, brother of Rufinus, and John the sonne of Lucas, with all their men, and got a great fum of money for their ransom. In a word, he was the sharpest enemy the Romans had. The reason was, because onely Alamundarus had command of the Saracens under the Persians, with authority and title of a King; whereby he could invade the Romans when and where he pleafed. Neither were the Roman Captains, called Duces Limitanei, nor the Phylarchi, or chieftains of the Saracen-tribes in league with the Romans, able to oppose him, being too weak to fight with him fingle in their severall countries. Whereupon the Emperour Justinian put many of those Tribes under Arethas, the sonne of Gabalas, chieftain of the Saracens in Arabia, giving him the title of a King; a thing not used by the Romans. But Alamundarus rather more ruined the Romans; Arethas in the inroads or fights, either having ill fortune, or betraying the business; we have no certainer of him. And so Alamundarus (none opposing) forraged the East furthest of any, and longeft, being a very old man; and Cabades liking his counfell, fent 15,000 men under the command of Azarethes (as I have faid ) whom Alamundarus was to guide the way.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Hele passing the Euphrates into Comagena unlookt for, and being the first Perfans that ever invaded us that way, that we can learn, it amazed the Romans, and at first perplexed Belifarius, when he heard it. But he foon refolved upon refistance, and having left competent garrisons in the places, of Mefopotamia, that Cabades with the rest of his army might not find them unguarded; he went with speed against the Enemy, compassing the Euphrates, and having about 20000 horse and foot, 2000 of them Isanians. The Captains of horse were the same that fought at Daras with Mirranes. Of the Infantery was Peter commander, a Lancier of the guard to Justinian; and of the Manrians, Longinus and Stophanacius. At the City of Colchis they encamped, hearing the Enemy were at Gabbula, a place almost fourteen miles from it. Alamundarm, and Azarethes hearing thereof, stayd their journey, resolving to march homeward, fearing to hazard; and they retired, keeping the Euphrates to their left hand. The Roman army followed; and where the Enemy lod. ged, fate down the night after : Belifarius purposely not fuffering the Army to march greater journeys, having no mind to fight, and thinking it sufficient if Alamundarus and the Persians retired home without effect. The army at this murmured at him, both Commanders and Souldiers, but not yet to his face. The Persians at last lodged upon the shore of Euphrates, opposite to the City of Callinicum, resolving from thence to march through a desert country, and so out of Roman ground, and not as before by the rivers side. The Romans from the City Sura, where they lodg'd, rose, and overtook the Enemy truffing up their baggage. The Feast of Easter was to be the next day, which Christians observe above all others; the day before it, and much of the night abstaining from all meats and drinks. And Belifarius seeing them eager upon the enemy, and willing to withdraw them from the opinion, ( Hermogenes being of the same mind, sent newly Ambassador from the Emperour) he called them together, and spake thus; Whether are you transported fellow fouldiers ! to chuse thus a needless danger ? That onely is pure victory, that comes off without damage from the Enemy: and that now fortune, and the fear of us amazing them, gives us; which advantage it is better to enjoy, having it, than to feek it when it is gone. Tae Persians invited with hopes, invaded us, and now failing, run away. If we force them to change their course, and fight; overcoming, we gain nothing, but to rout an enemy flying already. But having the worft, we lofe our present victory inot forced from it, but giving it away) and leave the Emperours land to the spoil of the Enemy, with none to defend it. Consider also, that God doth cooperate with mens necessary, not wilfull actions; how men flopt from flying will fight, though unwillingly; and how many difadvantages there care to us for a battell, many being marche hither afoot, and all of us fasting, and some of us not yet come up. The Army reproached Belisarius for this speech, not muttering now, but with open clamour to his face, calling him faint-hearted man, and a discourager of them. And this errour some Commanders ran into with the fouldier, onely to flew their valour. Belifarius amazed at this impudence, turned his discourse to encourage them, and to order them to the encounter, faying that he knew not their alacrity before, but now he took courage, and went against the enemy with more hopes. So he fet his Batallion in front, and his foot in the left wing towards the river, and to the right hand, where there was a steep peece of ground, Arethas with his Saracens: himself with the horse stood in the middle. Azarether seeing the Romans embattell'd, and ready for the encounter, said to his men; 'That being Persians, certainly they will never change their honour for 'life, if they might have the choice. But that now, if they would, they could make no fuch choice. They who can by running from a danger, live diffio-'nourable, if they can so resolve, chuse yet instead of the best, the most pleasant thing. But they who must die either honourably by an enemy, or basely by

CHAP.

'a superiour, dradg'd to execution, are mad if they chuse not the best condiction, instead of the basest. He bad them therefore, not thinking onely upon the enemy, but upon their Lord and Master, to to fight that day. Having exhorted them, he placed his Batallion opposite to the Enemy, and gave the right wing to the Persians, and the left to the Sardens, The battell then joyned, and was stifly fought. The arrows flew thick from both fides, and killed many. Some fingle encounters were between the Battallions, with much valour performed. The Perfians fell more by the thor, though they that thicker, and are almost all Archers, and the most dextrous living ; but from weak bowes little bent, the shaft lighting upon the Romans corflet, head-peece, or sheild, crackt without hurt doing. The Romans shorts slower, being from stiff bowes much bent, and hardly; but coming from stronger men than Persians, they speed where they light, no armour relifting the force. Two thirds of the day were past, and the fight yet equall. When the Persians best men combining, charged the right wing, where was Arethas and his Saracens. They opened their Battallion, and not abiding the charge ranne away, suspected that day to betray the Ramans. The Persians thus breaking through the ranks, had the backs of the Remans horse, who weary with their journey and toyl in fight, being falling too, and prest both wayes by the enemy, gave it over, and ran into small llands in the river near them. Some flaid and did bravely; among whom Afen, having flain many chief Perfians, was with much adoe cut in pieces, leaving a noble flory to his enemies; and with him eight hundred more fell, good men; and all the Ifaurians, with their Commanders, using no resistance : Men unexperienced, newly taken from the plough, and who knew not what a battell meant; yet hotter than any upon the fight, they reproached Belifarins with cowardize a little before. Indeed they were not all Haurians, but most Lycaenians, Belifarius staying with fome few, while Afest and his company stood, refisted also: But feeing them flain, he fled into the battallion of foot, where Perer their leader maintained the fight, with fome with him, the most being run away. Then Belifarius quitted his horse, causing his followers to doe the like, and with the rest received the enemy. Who after a short execution came back, and gave on upon Belifarius; who to prevent the enemies compais, kept his mens backs to the river, and flood their charge; where was a fierce fight; though with unequall powers, a few footmen fighting with all the Persian horse, and yet not routed by them. For standing close, and fencing with their shields, they shot the enemy to more purpole, than they were shot. And the Barbarians to break them, riding oft against them, rode back again without effect; their horses being skittish upon the clashing of the shields, and the riders in confusion. And at night they retired to their camp. Belifarins also with some few got into a ship, and past into an Iland, whether some came after swimming. The next day the Romans were transported to Calliniaum in ships, fent from The Persians having spoyled the dead bodies, went home; finding their own not fewer in number than their enemies. Azarethes at his comeing home had no thanks from Cabades, though he wanne this battell; and upon this reason. When an Army is levyed in Persia the King uses to sit upon his Throne, and by him fland baskets, and the General defigned for the army; which is to pass man by man before the King, and each to throw an arrow into the baskets; and they to be fealed with the Kings own seal. When the army comes home, every fouldier takes his arrow out of the panniers, and fome Commissioners number the arrows remaining, and so report to the King the number of the fouldiers come home; whereby it is known how many are perished in that war. This custom is ancient in Persia; and Azarethes prefenting himself to the King, he askt him what place he had conquered, having invaded the Romans with Alamundarus, with defign to take Antioch? Azarethes answered, that he had taken no place, but had vanquisht Bellisarius in battell. Then Cabades willed thearmy to come in, and take out their arrows, whereof many being left in the baskets, the King reviled Azarethes, and after held him in difgrace. mismorf restrict of him.

#### CHAP. XV.

He Emperour Justinian then bethought himself of affociating the Homerites, and Ethiopians against the Persians: Who, where they inhabite, and wherein the Emperour thought them usefull to the Romans, I will tell you. The Homerites are to the East of Palestina, upon the red sea, which beginning from India, ends in that part of the Roman Empire; having upon the coaft where it ends, in a narrow straight, the City Elas, and the mountains of Egypt to the South, and a defart country, reaching far to the North. As you fayl in, the land from both fides is feen, till the lland of Jorabe, which is from Elas fome hundred and five and twenty miles; where are seated the Hebrews, anciently free, but in Justinians reign made subject to the Romans. From hence a large sea opening, no land is to be seen to the right hand, as you fayl in, but at night you cast anchor on the left hand shore, the sea being full of shelfes, and in the dark not to be meddled with. There are many harbours made by the nature of the places, and fafe to put in at. The coast from Palestina the Saracens posses, who are anciently seated in the country of Palm-trees, being in the midland, spacious, and having nothing growing but Date-trees. Which Abocharabus, Governour of the Saracens there, gave to Justinian, who made him Chieftain of the Saracens in Palestina, thereby preserving that Province from spoyl, Abocharabus being terrible to his subjects and enemies; and very valiant. This country of Palm-trees being desert, and in the middle without water, for ten dayes journey, is of no use to us: Abocharabus gave us the name of a present only, which the Emperour knowing well, yet took it of him. Next to the Saracens in Palestina, are other upon the same coast, called Maadeni, subject to the Homerites. Upon the coast next beyond are the Homerites, and beyond them many other nations are seated, to the Man-eating Saracens. Beyond whom are the Indians. Opposite to the Homerites on the other shore are Ethiopians; called Auxomites, of the City of Auxomis, where is their Kings court. The sea between them is five dayes and nights sayl over, with a reasonable wind, keeping there the sea all night, by reason there are no shelves. This some call the Red sea; and the rest as you fail out to Elas, the Arabian gulf. For all the country from thence to Gaza was formerly called Arabia, and their King held his Court at Petre. The Homerites haven from whence they fayl into Ethiopia is called Boulicas, and they land at a haven of the Adulites, from whence, the City of Adulu is onely two miles and a half, and from Auxomis twelve dayes journey. The veffels of India, and on these seas, are not built like other ships, nor trimmed with pitch or such like, nor are the planks fastned with iron through them, but tyed together with cords. Not because of Iron-drawing Rocks (as is vulgarly thought) the Romans ships upon that sea coming from Elas, though built with Iron, finding no fuch matter; but because neither Indians, nor Ethiopians have Iron, nor other materials for that use: Nor can they buy any of the Romans; who forbid it upon pain of death. From Auxomic aforesaid, to the Roman Frontiers in Egypt, is thirty dayes journey; where are the Blemmyes, and Nebates, and other numerous people. The Blemmyes are seated in the midland, but the Nobates upon the Nile. This was not formerly the Roman frontier, which was feven dayes journey beyond. But Dieclesian finding their tribute a trifle, and their country narrow, being most taken up with the rocks of Nile; and the garrisons in it (being many) burdening his Treasury with the charge: And considering how these Nobates then dwelling about the City of Oasis, spoyled the Towns near them, he drew them to rife from that place, that they might no more trouble the country about Oafis, by giving them fair Roman Cities, and a large country, all from Elephantina on both fides the Nile, which he thought they would now guard, and beat off the Blemmyes (as being their own land) and other barbarous Nations. He gave them also, and to the Blemmyes, pension in Gold, not to prey upon the Roman territories; which they ftill receive, yet over-run the Provinces. So impossible it is for Barbarians to keep,

faith with Romans, but for feare of the Souldier. Yet the said Emperons, in an Iland of the Nile neer Elephantina, built a strong Castle, with Temples, and Altars for the Romans, and these people; appointing Priests of each Nation, and thinking by a participation in the same devotions, to make a sure amity between them. And upon this he called the place Phile. Both the Blemmyes, and the Nobates worship the Gods esteemed by the Gracians, and Is and Osiris and Priagus too; and the Blemmyes sacrifice men to the Sunne. The Temples in Phile these Barbarians held to my time, but by direction of the Emperons Justinian, Narses the Persarmenian, who revolted to the Romans, (as I said) commanding the forces in those parts, demolished them, keeping the Priests in restraint, and sending the Images to Constantinople.

### CHAP. XVI.

But during this warre with Persia Hellistham King of Ethiopia, a very devout Christian, hearing how the said Homerites of the opposite continent were many of them Jewes, and many Heathen, and laid excessive burdens upon the Christians, he sent out a Navy and Army against them, and fighting with them, routed them, and flew their King and much people. And having made Esimiphem King of them, a Homerite, and a Christian, and insposed a tribute upon them, he went home. In the Ethiopian Army were many, both flaves and leud persons, that would not follow the King home, but staid with the Homerites, being in love with the Country, as being very good land. But not long after, the people imprisoned Esimiphem, and made one Abramus their King, a Christian, who had been a slave to a Roman Merchant, residing for his traffique, in the Ethiopian City of Adalis. Helliftham, to punish Abramus, and his complices, for the wrong done to Esmiphaus, sent against them under the command of a kinsman, 3000, men. These also defiring to remaine in that good land, had secret conference with Abramus, unknown to their Commander, and in the battell kill'd him, and joyned with the enemies, and continued there. Hellifthens angry, fent another Army, which coming to a battell returned with much losse; and then afraid to meddle any more with Abrams, he forbare warr. But he being dead, Abrams was content to pay the tribute to his successour, and so confirmed his government.

These things happened afterward! But then during the raignes of Helistham, and Esmiphans, Justinian sent his Ambassadour Julian, to defire their confederacie against the Persians (the Romans, and they consenting in one religion) and that the Ethiopians would make themselves masters of a rich trade, by dealing with the Indians for their filke, and felling it to the Romans, who should have this onely advantage therein, that they should carry out their mony to their chamies for it. Of this filke are made the anciently called Persian, now Seruck, or filke garments. The Homerites were prayed also to make chiefetaine of the Madeni Sararens, one Caifus, a banisht man (who having kill'd a kinfman of Esimiphens, was fled into a wilderness, being of the race of the Phylarchi, and a very good Souldier) and that together with those Saracens, they would invade the Perfians. Both dimit the Ambaffador with promife to effect the Emperours defires, but neither performed; the Ethiopians not being able to buy the filke; because the Perfum Merchants ever come first to the havens, where the Indians unlade, being their next borderers, and buy up all. And the Homerites thought it hard, to travell through a deferr, many dayes journy, to fight with a people more warlike then themselves. Afterward Abramus having fetled his Kingdome, promifed oft to Justinian, but onely once began the journey, and turned home againe. Thus the Romans spedd with these people.

In the meane time Hermogenes came to Cabades in Ambassage after the battell of Emphrates, but could not effect the peace, finding him much enraged, and so came away. Belisarius also the Emperour son for, discharging him of that command, to make warre upon the Vandales; and Sites was sent to guard

the East. The Persian Army, led by Chanaranges, Aspevedes and Mermeroes; againe entred Mesopotamia, and ( none encountring them) sate downe before Martyropolis, where were garrison'd Buzes, and Bessas; It stands in the Province of Sophanene, thirty miles to the North of Amida, upon the river of Nymphius, which bounds the Roman and Persian territories. The Persians affaulted, and were valiantly receaved by the belieged, who could not thinke long to hold out, the walls being very affaultable, and easie for the Persians works, and they having neither provisions, nor engines, nor any other thing within of importance to defend. Sittas with the Roman army came to Attachas, twelve miles from Martyropolis; where he encamped; not daring to march further: with him was Hermogenes in another Ambaffage. In the meane time this happened. The Romans and Persians have anciently had spies, defrayed at the publique charge, who lecretly passe among the enemy; informing themselves of all occurrences, and advertising their owne Princes. Many of these, as affectionate Patriots, doe their best; some betray their Countries secrets to the enemy. One of the Persian spies then discovered to Instinian much of their affaires, and how a Nation of Massagetes was coming into Persa, and from thence were to invade the Romans, with the Perfian army. The Emperour had experience of the mans truth, and perfuades him with mony, to goe and report to the Persians before Martyropolis, that these Massagetes were hired by the Emperour, and infantly to come against them. Who according went to the Perfian Camp, and told them that an armie of Hunnes their enemies were coming to ayde the Romans: which made them afraid, and doubtfull what the fellow A schaff does note jestous at Anghun ,

## CHAP. XVII.

In the meane time Cabades fell mortally ficke, and calling to him Mebodes, and the Kingdom, his chief favourite, opened his resolution concerning Chosposs, and the Kingdom, and that he seared, the Persians would feek to fruitrate it. Mebodes prayed him to leave his resolution in writing, and to assure himself, the Persians would not disrespect it. Cabades thereupon declared Chosposs King by his testament, written by Mebodes himself, and toon after died. His usual funerall ceremonies being performed, Caoses presuming upon the Law, took upon him the dignity. Mebodes forbad him, alledging that none of himself might take the Kingdome, but by the votes of the principall Persian. Caoses referred to the great Officers the cognisance of the matter, not suspecting opposition from thence. So the principall Persians being assembled, and set down, Mebodes, by reading the testament, manifested the determination of Cabades: whose great vertues they all remembering, forthwith declared Chosposs King

of Persia. And thus Chofroes got the Kingdom.

But Sireas and Hermogenes, having no meanes to relieve Marryropolis, lent to the enemies Generalls to tell them; That they were hinderances to the King their master, to the blessing of peace, and to both their common wealths. That Ambustadors are sent from the Emperour to their King to end all differences, and to mike a truce; That therefore they should quit the Roman territory, and give the Ambustadours leave to inegetiate for the good of both parties; and that they are ready for what they say to give good host ages, that it will shortly be effected. There chanced to be there at the same time a messenger with the newes of the death of Cabades, and that Chosenes was King, and the affaires in Persia yet tottering. Which caused the Generalls to heare gladly the Romans propositions, starting also the invasion of the Hunnes. So that the Romans declared for hostages Marsinus and Sovecius, one of Sixus his Lifeguard: and the Persian raised their siege, and went home. The Hunnes not long after entred the Roman territory, and finding no Persian army, after some few dayes, retired home also. And Hermogenes with his fellow Ambussadors, Rusimus, Alexander, and Thomas, repaired to the Tiers, where was the King of Persia; who upon their coming, released the hostages. The Ambussadors, to make Choses tractable, used stattes little becoming

Anno Domini 531. & Justiniani 5.

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coming Roman Ambassadors, which so pacified him, that a perpetual peace was concluded for 110. Centenaries, to be given him, and the Commanders of the Forces in Mesopotamia to refide no more at Daras, but at Constantina, as they did formerly: The forts in Lazica he denied to restore, and yet demanded of the Romans restitution of Bolus, and Pharangium. A Centenary weighes 100. pound weight, so called of Centum in Latin: and this gold he demanded to quit the Romans from demolishing Daras, and sharing in the charge of the Garrison at the Caspian Gates. The Ambassadors liked all, but the Forts; alledging they could not deliver them without the Emperours express pleasure. So it was resolved, to send Rusinus to Constantinople, concerning these particulars, prefixing him feventy dayes for his journey; and the rest to stay till his returne. The Emperour hearing what Chofrees stood upon directed the peace to be concluded upon those tearmes. But Chefrees, upon a falle rumour that Instinian, offended with Rufinus, had put him to death, being troubled, and angry at it, he invaded the Romans with his army. But Rufinus returned, and overtock him neer Nifibis, where they resolved to consummate the peace, and the mony was brought into the town by the Ambassadors. But Justinian repenting the quitting the two Forts in Lazica, wrote to his Ambaffadors, absolutely forbidding to part with them. So Chofroes refused to conclude the treatie, and then Rufinus confidered how more hastily then safely he had brought the mony into the Persian dominion, and casting himselfe prostrate before Chofrees, befought him to fafe conduct the mony, and to deferr the present bringing an Army upon the Romans. Chofroes bad him rife, and promised to grant all for his sake. So the Ambassadors came to Daras with the mony, and the Persian Army marcht, back. His fellow Ambassadors were jealous of Rusinus, and accused him to the Emperour, because Chofroes yeilded upon his perswafions to every thing. But the Emperour did him no hurt, fending him againe shortly after, and Hermogenes to Chofrees; when they concluded the accord, That each should restore what was taken in this warre; That there should be no more any Commander of Forces reliding in Daras; And for the Iberians now in Constantinople, they were to have their choice, either to flay there; or returne home. Upon which many of them flaid, and many went into their own Country. Thus was concluded the Perpetual Peace (as they called it) in the \* fixt yeare of Justinians raigne, the Romans delivering up the Forts of Bolin and Pharangium, and the Persians the places in Lazzea: Who then also fent home Dagaris, to the Romans, for another Persian of quality. Dagaris did often after expell the Humes, and he overcame them in feverall battells, being an extraordinary good Souldier.

Anno Domini 532. Iustiniani 6.

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He peace being thus ratified by both parts, two Rebells of their owne I subjects fell upon both these Emperours, in this manner, Chefroes was of an unruly spirit, a great undertaker; troublesome; full of tumult himselfe, and an extreame troubler of others. So that the Persians being weary of his government, fuch of them, as were ftirrers, confulted to make another King of the house of Cabades. Zames they had a mind to, but the Law excluded him for his mayme of an eye: In the end they refolved to advance to the Kingdome the fon of Zames; and he, as his fons protector, to manage the affaires. This resolution they revealed to Zames, and with their many encouragements, perswaded him to the business; and a fit time was appointed to surprize the King. But the plot being discovered to the King, he prevented it, and put Zames to death, and the rest of his brothers, and their male iffue, and all fuch men of quality, as contrived, or were accessory to the conspiracy; among whom was Afperudes, his mothers brother. Cabades, the fon of Zames, (being foftered with the Generall Adorgadunbades) he directed the faid Generall to kill (though his own foster child) trusting the many neither indeed could he force him, nor without him kill the child. The Generall much grieved at

this dismall Injunction, acquainted his wife with it, and the childs nurse. The wife weeping, took him by the knees, and belought him not to kill Cabades. So they confulted together, and concluded to breed the child closely, and to write to Chefroes, that he was dead, This they did accordingly, and fo concealed the young Cabades, that none had any suspition, but his own son Varames, and one of his trustiest servants. But Cabades being come of age, the Generall fearing discovery, gave him money, and bad him save his life in banishment. And all this he kept from the knowledge of Chosroes; till Chosroes went with his army into Lazica (as shall be related hereafter) and Varames with him, who had waiting on him the servant privy to the business of Cabades, and revealed all to the King, producing his fervant, who agreed in all points. Chofrees raged, and thought it unsufferable, to beare such things from one of his own slaves; and he bethought himselfe of this way to get the man into his hands. When he was coming home out of Lazica he wrote to the Generall, that he resolved to invade the Romans, and not at one entry, but dividing his army, that he might make his invalion both on this fide, and beyond the Enphrates. One part himselfe must lead, and he would upon no servant bestow an equality in honour with himself, but on him the Generall, in regard of his valour. So that he should doe well, with speed to meet him in his journey, that he might communicate, and direct what should concern the expedition, leaving his traine to follow fair and foftly after. The Generall overjoyed with this honour from the King, and farr from gueffing his own mischief, did as he was commanded. But spent with hard travell, (being an old man) he flipt his bridle, and fell from his Horse; wherewith his legg being broken, he was forced to stay to be cured. Chofroes arriving at the same place, he was brought to the Kings presence; who told him he could not go the expedition appointed, with his legg in that case; but bad him at some Castle there get the help of Surgeons. And so he fent him the way to his death, and after him men to kill him; An invincible Generall, and so reputed by the Persians; having subdued twelve Nations to Cabades. Being dead, his son Varames was made Generall. Long afterward Cabades the son of Zames, or one usurping his name, came to Constantinople. He was in his face like King Cabades, and Justinian used him honourably, as the grandchild of that King. Mebodes also Chofroes killed upon this ground. Being upon earnest bufinesse, he bad Zaberganes call Mebodes to him: who found him training his Souldiers, and told him, the King called him in haft. He faid, he would come presently, when he had dispatcht the businesse he was about. The other hating him, reported to the King, that Mebodes would not come as yet, alledging bufiness. The King enraged, sent one to him, to command him to the Tripos, or three-footed table. Which is thus. An iron three footed table stands ever at the Court-gate, and when any Persian understands the King to be offended with him, he may not fly to Temple, or elsewhere; but sitting by this table must expect the Kings sentence, none being to guard him. Here Mebodes sate many dayes in a pittifull habit, till one by the command of Chofroes, took him away, and killed him, To this came the good fervices he had done Chofroes.

## CHAP. XIX.

A Bout the same time happened in Constantinople a suddaine mutiny, which grew high, and ended in much mischief, both to the Senate, and people. The Commons of every City anciently have been divided into the Veneti and Prasim, the Blews, and the Greens. But it is not long, since about these names and colours, (wherein they stand to see sights) they consume their estates, abandon their bodies to tortures, and refuse not the most shamefull death. They run the danger of sighting with their opposites, being sure, (should they get the better) to be haled to prison, and after extreame torturing, to be put to death. There growes in them a hatred without ground, and lasts undeterminable, not yeilding to allyance, kinred, or any law of friendship; be

\* Præfectus
Urbi, next in
dignity to the
Prefect: Prætorio. The Authour in his old
age held this office.

\* Præfectus Prætorio of the Orient; There was another of Illyrium, both belonging to the Easterne Empire.

it brother, or fon, that dotes upon the contrary Colour. Nothing human, or divine they regard, in comparison of the victory in these, be it impietie against God, or violation of lawes, or of the Commonwealth by subjects or enemies: nay themselves wanting necessaries, and their Country receaving injury in the most important things, they are not sensible of it, so this their portion may prosper: So they call their fellow Factionists. Nay the very women partake in this abomination, not onely as their husbands followers, but often their opposites; though they never goe to the Theaters, nor have other inducements. That I know not what to fay, but that it is a meer disease of the mind : and thus it is in every City, and Corporation. But at that time \* the Governour of the Citizens of Constantinople, led some Factionists to execution. Both parties then making peace, and conspiring, first took away the men led to punishment, then let out of prison all who lay either for sedition, or any other crime; and without respect, slew the said Governours ministers. The Citizens who were of neither faction fled to the opposite continent; and the City, (as if under an enemy) was set afire. The Temple of Saint Sophie, and the Bath of Zeuxippus, and the Emperours Court from the porch to the Temple of Mars was confumed, Moreover the great Portions, reaching to Constantines market place; and many great mens houses, and much wealth. The Emperour and Empress with some Senators shut themselves up in the Palace, without stirring. The peoples word to one another was, Nica, overcome; From whence to this day that Mutiny is called Nica. John the Cappadocian was then \* Prefect of the Court; and Tribonianus, a Pamphylian, Affesior to the Emperour, by the Romans called Quastor. John was a man vnbred in any liberall science (having learn't at the Grammar Schoole onely poore letters, to write as poorely) but in naturall abilities, the most powerfull man we ever knew, both to discerne fit things, and in doubtfull to find a resolution; but the wickedest man alive: wherein he employed the strength of his nature, without respect of God or men; for gaine studying the ruine of mens estates, and of whole Cities. Quickly growing to a great wealth, he fell into boundless gluttony, preying upon the subject till dinner time, and the rest of the day spending in drunkennesse, and wanton abusing his body, eating till he vomited. A man ready to catch mony, and more ready to lavish it. Such was John the Cappadocian. But Tribonianus, beside a great naturall ability, had attained to an excellence in learning, inferiour to no man of his time: But in the wayes of Covetouineis most industrious, and ever ready to fell right for gaine; making, and repealing Edicts every day, ever felling them to any who had occasion to use them. During the peoples quarrells about those names, and colours, there was little speech of these mens misgovernements. But when they consented, and were now formed into a mutiny; openly in the City they rail'd upon them, and fought occasions to kill them. The Emperour to reconcile the people, put them both out of their places, and made Phocas a Patrician, Prefett of the Palace; a wife man, and naturally addisted to justice, and Basilides a Patrician he made Quastor, a famous honest man. But the mutiny raged nothing leffe. The fift day of the same, about evening, the Emperour commanded Hypatim and Pompeim, Nephewes of the late Emperour Anastasim, to retire to their houses; either suspecting some attempt of theirs upon his person, or afraid that they were driven thereto by deftiny. They fearing what came to passe, that the people would force them to the Empire, said, that it was not honest to leave their Emperour in so great danger. Justinian at this was more suspitious, and bad them instantly be gone home. They went, and it being night, were quiet; but the Sun no fooner up, but it was divulged, how these Lords were retired from the palace: and all the multitude ran to them, and faluted Hypatim Emperour, and conducted him to the market place, to take the affaires upon him; Maria his wife, a wife and fober Matrone, crying, and lamenting, and protesting to her friends, that the people were leading her husband to his death; and hanging upon him to stay him, till the people forced him from her. And when he was unwillingly come to Constantines market-place, they proclaimed him Emperour

of the Komans, binding about his head a golden wreath, for Diademe they had none, nor other thing usuall to invest the Emperour. The Senators, as many as were not in the Palace, joyned; and the opinions of many were, to try their formne at the Palace. But Origen a Senator admonished them; That indeed the case they were in, could not be decided without warr, and that warr and Empire are confest the greatest things among men. But great actions are not managed in an instant, but with advises and labours, which must have longer time for their execution. That if they march now to the Enemy, their affaires will be upon the edge of a razour; and in a little piece of time they shall adventure all, and then for what happens, either adore or revile Fortune; into whose hands the hastiest businesses commonly fall. But that if they carry it leysurely, they shall not take Justinian in the Palace, if they would; who will thinck it well, if he may run away. Soveraignty despised, totters downeward, the strength of it daily consuming: That there are other Palaces, Placilliana, and that of Helena, from whence this Emperour may iffue, and manage the warr, and other matters. The multitude embraced this advice, and Hyparius, (who was to have a mischief) bad them lead on to the Circus. Some fay he went thither purposely, being well affected to the Emperour : Who held a Counsell, whether he should stay, or sly by Sea : Many discourses were; but the Emprels Theodora spake thus. Isuppose this no time to enquire, whether a woman should be bold among men, or may be valiant, when they are afraid. They, whose affaires are come into extreamest perill, must attend nothing, but how to settle best, that which lyes before them. I hold slying (if ever, certainely now, though it would preserve us) not expedient. For aman born into this light, not to dy, is impossible: But for one that hath been an Emperour, to become a Exile, is not to be endured: For let me never come to be without this purple robe, nor live that day, in which they that speak to me, call me not their Lady and Mistress. If Sir! you have a mind to escape, 'tis no hard matter. We have store of money; and there's the sea; and yonder are shipps: But consider, whether you may not have sause, most willingly to exchange your safety, for death. For me, I like the old saying; How brave a Se-pulcher a Kingdom is! At this speech they took courage to stand it out, and consulted of meanes of opposition, if any should set upon them.

All the Souldiers, both quartered about the Emperours Palace and elfewhere, neither affected the Emperour, nor durst openly joyne in this action, but expected the event. But Justinians whole hope was in Belisarius and Mundus. The first newly come from the Persian warr, had brought a strong retinue with nim, of Lanciers and Targettiers, and others, all old Souldiers. And Mundus, being \* Generall of Illyrium, chanced, being fent for to Constantinople, to bring with him a Troop of Herulians. But Hypatius in the Circus, went up directly, and fate him down in the Emperours Seat, where he uses to see the horse races and other exercises. Then out of the Palace came Mundus, by the gate called Cochlea, from the round forme like a shell-snaile. But Belifarius went first toward Hypatius, and the Imperiall Seat, and at a hall where uses to be a guard of Souldiers, he called, willing the Souldiers to open the doores for him to goe against the Usurper. The Souldiers resolving to stand for neither, till one were cleerly the Conquerour, made as if they heard him not. Belifarius returning to the Emperour, affirmed they were all undone; the Souldiers revolting; who guarded the Palace. The Emperour bad him goe in by the Brazen gate, and the portall there; and he passing with much danger and toile, through rubbish, and places halfe burn't, got to the Circus. Being come to the Gallery of the Veneti, which is to the right hand of the Emperours Seat, he was thinking to fet upon Hypatine; but the gate there was narrow, and he feared the people, seing him pettred in a narrow passage, might cut in pieces himselfe and his company, and then easily set upon the Emperour. So refolving to give on upon the innumerable multitude, which stood confusedly and crowded in the Circus, he drew his fword, and bad the rest doe the like, and ran upon them, with a great shour. The people being crouded together, and feing corfelets, and Souldiers of approved valour and experience, unmercifully hewing them with their swords, fell to running away. A fearfull cry was made, and Mundus standing neer, and desirous to have his share in the

\* There was another cal'd Generall of all of the Orient; and two Generalls of the Legions in Byzantium: In Latin their name was Magistri militum.

action

action (being a daring man) when he saw Belisarius in fight, he rusht into the Circus also at the gate called Necra. And so the Mutineers between them both were cut in peeces. And the overthrow being clear, and much slaughter of the Commons, Boraides and Justus, the Emperours Nephews, pulled Hypatius out of his seat (none resisting) and led him with Pompeius to the Emperour; (of the common people there being slain that day more than 30000.) The Emperour commanded them to prison; and Pompeius wept, being a man little versed in business; but Hypatius chid him, saying, That none ought to lament for men perishing unjustly; forced at the first by the people, and then coming to the Circus for no hurt to the Emperour: But the next day the souldiers killed them both, and threw their bodies into the sea. The Emperour consistant their estates, and of all the other Senators of their faction; but afterward restored to them, and to the sonnes of Hypatius, and Pompeius, their former dignities, and so much of their estates, as he had not \* given away. And thus the mutiny ended.

\* But he gave away all their best lands and goods first. See the Secr. Hist.

## CHAP. XX.

Ribonianus and John the Cappadocian had their Offices restored to them again. Tribonians lived many yeares in the fame, and dyed in his bed, without receiving other difgrace, being a faire spoken man, pleasant, and able to vail his Covetousness with abundance of Learning. But John was irksome to all the world, threatning the whip to all men, and sharking all kind of booty. In the tenth year of his Office he paid the just penalty of his lawless life in this manner. \*The Empresse Theodora hated him of all men; and he being fallen foul with her by fome errors, fought not to gain her with flattery and good turnes, but openly plotted against her, and accused her to the Emperour; neither respecting her fortune, nor the Emperours extreame affection to her. She perceiving his doings, defired to kill him, but could not, the Emperour fo much esteemed him. But John knowing the Empresses mind, was terribly affraid, suspecting every night in his bed, some Barbarian should rush in to kill him; and still peeping out, and searching the entries, that he could not fleep, though he had about him some thousands of Lanciers and Targetiers; a thing never used by any Præfect. But no sooner day; but again, forgetting all fear of God, or man, he became a common destruction to all Romans, frequenting Sorcerers, and hearkning to impious South-fayings, vainly foretelling to him the Imperiall dignity; that one might see his thoughts in the air, transported with hopes of the Empire: And in his wicked course of life he bated nothing, nor was God in any of his thoughts. If he went to Church to pray, or watch all night, he observed not the Christian Rites; but having on a course garment, like a Heathen Priest, he mumbled all the night fome ungodly spels, to captivate more the Emperours mind, and to preserve himself from mischief.

In the mean time Belifarins, after the conquest of Italy, came to Constantinople with his wise Amonina, to manage the war against the Persian, being precious to all men, and indeed deserving much estimation. Yet this John was harsh to him, and still plotting against him; onely because himself was generally hated, and Belisarius of all men the most renowned. And the hope of the Romans being upon him, again he made an expedition into Persia, leaving his wise Antonina in Constantinople, who (being the ablest woman alive to essect things hard to be essected) to gratise the Empresse, devised this. John had a daughter, his onely child, named Emphemia, whom he extreamely loued, very modest, but young, and so easily caught. This mayd, Antonina, by much soothing, and assiduity, at last gained to her lure; not disclaining to impart her secrets to her. And once having her above in a chamber, the seigned to lament her own fortune, That Belisarius (after so much enlarging the Roman Empire, and two Kings brought prisoners to Constantinople, and so vast a wealth) found Instanting ungratefull; and in other things she accused

\* This story begins 8 years after the Mutiny, and ends tenne years after it, when Iohn was stript of all, and sent begging to Alexandria. As appears in the end of the Chapter.

the Government, as unjust. Euphemia overjoyed at this discourse, being troubled too with the Government, and fear of the Empress; Truly, dear Lady! (quoth she) you are the causes, who having power, will not use it. We are not able, daughter (replyed Anionias) to stirre in the Camp, is some in the Court concurre not in the action; But if your Fasher would, wee should reasily (being once in the business) effect, whatsoever it should please God: Euphemia considertly promised, that this should be done; and departing, related the matter to her father. Who pleased with it, and conceiving it to lead him the way to his Prophesies, and the Empire. Without pauling upon lead him the way to his Propheties, and the Empire, without pauting upon it, consented: Willing his daughter to treat for a meeting the next day, and that he might give her his oath. Amonina knowing his mind, and delirous to draw him from suspecting the truth : To give him a meeting now (quoth " (h.) will doe hure ; it will cause suspicion, and hinder all : But the was inflantly to goe into the East to Beliferius; being departed from Constantinople, and in her house in the suburbs ( which is called Russiane, aboute of Belifafrom ) there John hould come to take leave, and bring her on her way; where they might conferre, and give oath, and take it. John liked this, and a day was aftigned accordingly. The Empresse informed of all from Automia, commended the plot, and encouraged her in it. And at the day appointed, Autonina took leave of the Emprels, and came to Ruhmana, and the next day was to begin her journey. Thither at night came John, to finish the agreement. The Empresse had informed her husband of these attempts of John to usurp, and so sent to Russiana Nanjes the Eunuch, and Marcellus, Commander of the Palatine guards, with many souldiers, and direction to search out the business, and if they found John in any plot, to kill him, and come away. They say the Emperour advertised of this proceeding, sent one to John, not so meet Amenina secretly. Which advise John neglecting (it being his sate to be ruined) about midnight met Antoniaa near a hedge, hehind which she had placed Narses, and Marcellus to hear what was said. There did John consent in plain words to the conspiracy, and construed it with most terrible oaths. Then did Narses and Marcellus break in upon him. But at the noise, Johns Lanciers (who were at hand) came presently in. One of them wounded Marcellus with his sword, not knowing who it was, whereby John with them escaped, and ran to the City. If he had had the heart to goe inimediately to the Emperour, he had had the hurt, I verily think: But by slying to the Temple, he gave the Empresse full scope to advance her design against him. So that of a Præsect made a private man, and removed from that Church, he was brought Empresse had informed her husband of these attempts of John to usurp, and a Præfect made a private man, and removed from that Church, he was brought to another, standing in a fatburh of Cyricum, called Artace, and there made a Priest, naming himself Peter. He was not made a Bishop, but a Priest: Neither would he execute the function of a Priest, lest it should hinder his promotion to greater offices. For he would not lay down his hopes. His estate being confiscate, the Emperour remitted much of it, being still inclined to spare him. There had John the means (secure from dangers, and rich, both by what he had collected himself, and what he had by the Emperours grace) to use his pleasures without controlement, and with moderation to esteem his estate happy. At which all men repined, that being the wickedest devil in the world, he should thus live happyer than he did before.

But God would not suffer his punishment to stay there, but prepared this greater scourge for him. Enseins, the bishop of Cyzicum, was as harsh a man as John himself. And him the Cyzicenians accused to the Emperour in a judiciall way; but not prevailing (Enseins being too strong for them) some young men laid wait, and killed him in the Market-place of Cyzicum. With this Enseins John had great differences, which cast a suspition of the fact upon him. So that some Senators being sent to examine it, first put him in the common prison, setting him naked like a robber, or some pilsering roque (one who had been so powerfull a Præsect, enrolled among the Patricians, and had sate in the Consuls chair, then which dignity none is greater in the Roman state) and tearing his back with many stripes, they forced him to reveal his own life. There was no great argument of his guilt of the murder,

but

but the juffice of God exacted from him a revenge, for abusing the whole world. They took then all his effate from him, and put him naked into a thip, fave with one courfe coat, which coft not much. His conductors, where-foever the thip pat in, made him beg his bread, and small moneys for his substitute. And so begging all the way to Egypt, he was brought to Antinoe; and this is the third year of his being there a prisoner. Yet in all this affliction, he quitted not his hope of the Empire; but fell to accuse some Alexandrians for Arrears to the Treasury

Anno Domini 533. & Iustiniani 7. This just vengeance fell upon John the Cappadocian, ten years after this time. But then the Emperour made Belifarin Generall of the East again, and fending him into Africa, recovered the country, as shall be hereafter declared; which much vexed Chofrees and the Persians, repenting they had made a peace, when he faw the Romans power so augmented. And sending an Ambassadour to Confrantinople, he congratulated with the Emperour, and in merriment demanded his there of the spoyles of Africa, seeing he had not vanquished the Vandales, if the Persians had not made peace with him. But Justinian sent Chos-

roes a present in money, and dismissed the Ambassadour.

In the mean time at Daras one John, a fouldier of the Garrison (some few of his fellow fouldiers conspiring) usurped, and possessed the City. In the Palace there, as in a Cittadell)he fate, confirming dayly his tyranny: And had not there been peace then with the Persians, some desperate mischief had fallen out. The fourth day of this tyranny, some other souldiers, by the direction of Mamas Bishop of Daras, and Anastrasias a principall Citizen, went to the Palace at noon, each having under his cassock a short sword. And first at the lace at noop, each having under his eaffock a short sword. And first at the inner court, finding some few Lanciers of the guard, they killed them; then going into the Hall, layd hold on the usurper. Some say the souldiers did not begin with him; but that (they demurring upon it in the inner court, as a fraid of the danger) a pudding seller in their company rusht in suddainly upon John, and with his knife wounded him; not mortally. But slying in haste, he tell among the souldiers, and then (they say) they laid hold on him; and having set the place on fire, that it might not encourage any hereafter to rebell, they put him settred in the common prison. Where one among them, fearing, that the souldiers knowing him to be living, might trouble the City again, killed him, and so appealed the mutiny, and the said tyranny in Daras.

## Finis Liby I. Bell. Perf. at an and and and

publing the felt Peter. However, white a bithop, but a Peiett, princer; a become the felt proposition. hor he woold not lay down his hopes. His stare being our one, the Emperous semiette much of he being fifth and seek to thate I have lead full the missing Courage from dispresely and rich, but h by what he but and what he had by the Emperors (race) to uit will side and a second the second sec oye. At will be a long red from being a wicked a death a children being wicked a will be the red lan God want over ferfer his penditor our confer that of the property of in con to our so the Englet styckle but the process of Creterial was as hards a care
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ind vary but not free alting (Lingebilus being too throng tor them Nome vering our land waite, see likeled from in the Manace place vary course. With this s chier John and great differences, which call a finipition of the fall upon So that (im a Senarous being feno to examine to first puchim in the

of Ten priton tenting himmeded like a cobber, or tome pilkering acoust who had been in force and a Praces, another among the Personal had fare in the Corfe's about them which dignity to us is greaten in the

were flow) and tracing his back with mand disper, they forced him to rehis own . . There was no exert symment of his spilt of the murder:



## The Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book of the Persian War.

CHAP. I.

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CHAP. II.

The War in Armenia; where Sittas, a brave Generall, is unfortunately flain. Buzes succeeds. Upon the killing of John they revolt to Chroscoes, and perswade him to break the Perpernal Peace.

CHAP. III.

A Comet. A cruell invasion of Hunnes into Thrace and Illyrium. Justinian dehorts Chofroes from war. Chofroes first invasion. His cunning taking of Sura; and destroying it. He causes Candidus Bishop of Sergiopolis to redeeme their captives.

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CHAP. VI.

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CHAP. X.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

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CHAP. XIV.

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CHAP. XVI.

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CHAP. XIX.

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CHAP. XX.

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CHAP, XXI.

Chosroes sends Fabrizus to kill Gubazes, who fails in his plot. Gubazes revolts to Justinian. Dagisthaus besieges the Persians in Petra. The description of Phasis. Dagisthaus by absurdly dallying, misses the taking Petra.

CHAP. XXII.

Mermeroes, with an Army of Persians, forces his way through the passage. Whereupon Dagisthæus runs basely from Petra. Mermeroes, having relieved Petra, retires home, leaving 5000, who are cut in pieces by Gubazes. John the Cappadocian, after Theodora's death, returns to Constantinople, a priest onely; and how he were the habit of Augustus.

The



# THE HISTORY

Of the Wars of the EMPEROUR
JUSTINIAN,

Of the Persian War.

The Second Book.

## CHAP. I.



Hofroes hearing how Belifarius was recovering Italy for the Emperour Justinian, could hold no longer, but would find some specious pretext to break the peace: Alamundarus he directed to procure causes of a warr. Who charging Arethas for encroaching on him, with that colour forraged the Romans; alledging it no breach of peace between them and the Persians; neither having included him. Indeed in no treaties was any mention of the Saracens; being comprehended in the

names of the Romans and Persians. The Country these Sarasens disputed, is called Strata, and lies to the South of the City of Palmyra, Trees nor Corne it hath none, (being parche with Sun,) onely it affoards some flocks of Sheep. Arethus claimed it for the Romans from the name it had ( Strata in Latin being a paved way) and producing testimonies of ancient men: But Alamundarus would not dispute about names, alledging the owners to have anciently paid him rent for the pasturage. Instinian committed the arbitration of these differences to Strategius, a Patrician, superintendent of his treasures, a wise man, and nobly born , and to Summus late Captain of the Forces in Palestine, and brother to Julian, ( who was Ambassador to the Ethiopians and Homerits) who thought it not fit the Romans should quit the Country, But Strategin prayed the Emperour, not to give the Persians, (now quarrelling,) occasion for a warr, about such a poore barren Gountry. Who consulted about it, and much time was spent in the Arbitration. But Chosroes said the peace was broken, in that Justiman during the same had manifested a great designe upon his house, by endeavouring to gaine from him Alamundarus; Summus at the Arbitration having importuned him with great offers of money to revolt. Chofroes also produced the Emperours letters written to Alamandarus; And he alledged, that he had also written to the Humes to invade and forrage the Per-. I

fians , and that the Hunnes had fent him the Letters. Chofroes with these obje-

ctions, (true, or falfe, I know not) resolved to break the peace.

Then also Vitigis King of the Goths, brought low with the warr there, fent two Ambassadours to him, to persuade his invading the Romans; being not Goths, (for feare of spoiling the business being discovered) but Ligurian priests, won to this negotiation by large gifts. He that feemed the better man, and called himself a Bishop, went for the Ambassadour, and the other for his servant. Being come into Thrace, they took in an Interpreter for the Syrian and Greek tongues; and so came into Persia undiscovered; the Romans keeping no exact guards because of the peace : And having accesse to Chofrees, they spake thus; Other men, O King ! employ Amba fadors for ends of their own : But Vicigis King of the Goths and Italians, having fent us to advise you concerning your Empire, thinck him, as present, to say thus. In a word, O King! you abandon your owne Empire, and all men besides , to Justinian ; who being naturally pragmaticall , ambitious, and restlesse, hath strong desires to conquer every Land and Dominion But finding himself unable to deale singly with the Persians, nor during their opposition, to affaile others; he resolved to blind you with a Peace, and to compell others to joyne their powers to his, against your Dominions. The Vandales and Moores he hath already ruined, by removing us out of his way with a title of friendship: And now fully stored with money, and men, he invades us: shewing, that if he can subdue the Goths; with us , and the flaves be hath already made , he will bring his Army upon the Persians, respecting no name of friendship, nor his Oath. So that while there is yet hope, doe us no more hart, nor Suffer any your selfe; but in our misfortunes, see what may happen to the Persians. Thinch the Romans never your friends, but once above you in power, that they will consummate their hatred. Use your power in the due time, least you seek it, when'tis gone. The point of opportunity once blunted, never recovers. 'Tis better to prevent and be safe; then coming short of the opportumty, to suffer the basest things from an Enemy. Chosroes esteemed this Counsell of Vitigis to be good; and studied more the breaking the peace; in his envy of Tustinian, not confidering these discourses to come from the Emperours Enemies. He had a mind to it, and so like a willing fugitive he yeilded himself: which happened also to him upon the discourses of the Armenians and Lazdans afterward. They imputed to Justinian that, which is the high praise of a generous Emperour, the making his Empire greater and more glorious; which they might aswell object to Cyrus the Persian, or Alexander the Macedonian. But envious men know no right: And thus Chorfroes resolved to breake the peace.

## CHAP. II.

Dit in the meane time this happened. Simeones (who gave up Pharangium to the Romans) in the heat of the warr obtained of Justinian some Armenian villages; and having them, he was slaine by some of the ancient possestions; the murtherers being two brothers, the sons of Perozes, sled into versia; and the Emperour Justinian gave the villages to Amazaspes, sisters son to Simeones, and made him governour of Armenia. After this a tollower of Justinian, one Acacius, accused Amazaspes of confederacy, and plotting to deliver Theodosiopolis to the Persian, and other Townes, and by the Emperours direction put him to death treacherously, and was made Governour of Armenia: He was a wicked man, and so appeared, and most cruell to the Armenians, by unreasonable rapines, and by taxing them with a new tribute of source Centenaries. The Armenians not able to endure him longer, conspired and killed him, then seized upon Pharangium: Against whom the Emperour sent Sistas from Constantinople, where he had remained ever since the peace. He at first made a slow warr, striving to appease, and reduce them to their former affections; promising to get their new tribute remitted. But the Emperour, at the instigation of Adolius, the son of Acacius, reproach't him for dallying. Then he prepared to give battell, endeavouring with faire

12600 li. flerl.

promises to joyne some, to have the rest better cheape. The Aperians, a great, and populous people, willing to submit, fent to him for affurance; that turning to the Roman Army from their own Countrey-men, they should enjoy their own estates, free from grievance. He gladly made an Instrument of their affurances, and fent it them figned; and confident upon this to winne the bartell without firiking stroke, he marcht to the Oenochalaces, where the Armenians encamped. But the bearers of the Instrument could not meet the Apetians; and part of the Roman Army, not knowing of the accord, killed fome few of them they met. And Sittas finding some children and women in a cave angry for the Apetians not joining according to promise, or not knowing them, killed them. So they stood in battell with the rest, offended with all this. The fight could not be in one place, but was scattered in ragged ground, and precipices, and bottomes of hills. So that Sittas not with many, and some few Armenians, came neer each other, with a deep vally between them; being both fides horse-men: Sittas past the vally, and charged the enemy; who retiring, flood fill, and Sittas flopt there too. By chance an Hernlian of the Roman army came back in fury from the chase of an enemy, passing by Sittas, who had struck his lance into the ground, The Hernisans horse rushing mainly against it, brake it; which much troubled Sittas. For an Armenian who knew him (having his helmet off) affired the rest it was Sittus. Who hearing what the Armenian said, and seeing his lance crackt upon the ground, drew his fword, and would have retreated over the vally. The Enemy rode eagerly after him, and one overtook him in the vally with a fword, which cut off the crown of his head, not hurting the scull. Sittas spurr'd on; but Artabanes, the fon of John, of the race of the Arfacides, kill'd him with a thrust of his lance behind. Thus was Sittas loft impertinently, and not futably to his former actions; A goodly man he was, valiant, and an excellent Commander, inferiour to none of his time. Some say one Solomon killed him, an obscure fellow, and not Artabanes.

Sittes being dead, the Emperour fent Buzes against the Armenians. Who being neer them, promifed to reconcile them, defiring conference with some of their chief men. None would give credit to Buzes, nor hearken to his offers, save John, the father of Artabanes his friend, of the race of the Arfacides, who presuming upon Buzes, as his friend, came to him with his son in law Bassaces, and some others. These the next day lodged where they were to meet Buzes, and perceaved themselves compass with the Roman army. Bassaces, when he could not persuade John to flie, rode back, leaving him all alone;

whom Buzes kill'd.

The Armenians having no hope of reconciliation, and unable to maintaine the warr; under the conduct of Bassaces, a valiant man, betook themselves to the Persian King: To whom some of their Chiefs being admitted, spake thus, There are amongst us, Sir! many Arsacides, descendants of that Arsaces, who no stranger to the Persian Empire, when it was under the Parthians, was a samou King in his time, inferiour to none. But we now fland before you, become flaves and fugitives, not willingly, but forced; in apparance by the Romans, but indeed, O King! by your resolution. For who gives power to the wrong doer, justly beares the blame of the wrong. To deduce it higher, and through the severall occurrents, Arsaces, our last King, quitted his Royalty, it seemes, willingly to Theodosius the Roman Emperour, with condition for those of his blood, to enjoy libertie, and not to be subject to Tribute. Which we preserved till your famous Peace, or rather common calamitie. For now not regarding friends nor enemies, this friend of yours, O King! in words, and enemy in deeds, hath troubled all the world. Which your selfe will know ere long, when he hath subdued the Western Nations. What thing prohibited hath he not done! what well settled not stirred? Hath he not taxed us with unusuall tributes? made flaves of the Tzanians our borderers, a free people? fet a Governour over the King of the wretched Lazians, a thing not incident to the nature of things? not to be exprest? Hath he not with his Generalls unjustly surprized the Bosporites; subjects of the Hunnes? made league with the Ethiopians, never heard of by the Romans? added the Homerits, red Sea, and Country of Palme-trees to the Roman

Empire? not to speak of the Affricans and Italians. The whole world not containing the man, he searches gulfes beyond the Ocean, and another world. Why doe you delay, O King ! respecting this wicked ruinous peace ? Is it, after all the rest, to be his last dish? To know what man Justinian is to them that yeild to him, you have us for a Precedent, and the poore Lazians: how he uses men unknown, as well as them that wrong him; consider the Vandales, Goths and Moores. But the maine of all: findies he not during the peace to draw Alamundarus your servant to revolt from you? to affociate the Hunnes against you, men unknown to him? But a shrewder act then this was never: Now he perceaves his Westerne conquests ready for conclusion, he seeks to circumvent the East, having none now to wrestle with lest, but the Persians. So that himself hath broken the Perpetual Peace. They break peace, not who arme first, but who plot against their allies in time of peace, and the crime is acted by him that goes about to do it , though the success faile. And not they who canse the warr, but they who oppose them, use to conquer. Nor will the match be equal; their best Souldiers being in the utmost parts of the world; and of their two best Generalls, we have lately flaine Sittas; and Belifarius Justinian will not look on. Which he flighting, holds in his hands the dominion of Italy: So that you will have none to oppose your invasion; and us you shall have with our best affections, and long experience of the Countrey, the guides of your Army. Chofroes liked these reasons, and imparted to his trussient subjects, what Vitigis and the Armenians had said; propounding in Counsell what was to be done; where the conclusion was, to make warr on the Romans in the beginning of the spring, it being then Antumne; and Justinian in the thirtenth yeare of his raigne; the Romans the while not suspecting the breach of the Perpetuall Peace; but hearing onely that Chosroes murmured against the Emperours successes in the West, and charged him, as I have mentioned.

Anno Domini 539. & Anno 13. Juftiniani.

#### CHAP. III.

'Hen also appeared a Comet, at first about the length of a tall man, afterward much longer: The taile was toward the East, and the head to the West; and being in Capricorne, kept behind the Sun in Sagittary. Some called it (being long with a sharp head) gladiata, some barbata. It was seen more then forty dayes. The learned in these things, made severall repugnant prædictions upon this starr : But what hath fallen out fince, I will relate. Immediatly a great army of Humnes passing the river Ister overran all Europe; a thing often done, but never with so much mischief to people. \* From the Jonian gulfe, to the suburbs of Constantinople, they spoiled all in their way; in Illyrium they took 32. Castles; destroyed Cassandria (anciently Potidaa) having never, (that we know) attempted before a walled Town; and with much booty, and some 120. thousand captives retired home, meeting no opposition : Afterward they did many mischiefs to the Romans in their inroads. They asfaulted the wall in Chersonesus, and forcing the Guards, and at full Sea ( being upon the Gulf called Melas ) getting over it, entred within it, fell suddainly upon the Roman inhabitants in Chersone sus, slew many, and made almost all the rest slaves. Some cross't the Strait between Sestus and Abidus, spoiled the towns of Afia Minor, and then returning to Chersones went home with the rest of their army and their booty. In another inroad having spoyled Illyrium and Thefaly, they affaulted the wall at Thermopyla; where the Garrison defending floutly, they unluckily found the path up the mountaine, and fo wasted all Greece, save Peloponesus; and then retired.

Not long after the Persians breaking the peace, did much infest the Romans of the East; Belisarius having newly subdued Vitigus, and brought him to Constantinople. Before the Persian invasion, Justinian, who saw Chosroes (as I have said) quarrelling, sent a remonstrance to him by Anastasius, a prudent man, who lately had suppressed the Rebellion at Daras, and wrote letters to this effect. Wise men, who know God, strive to root up the occasions of warr, especially with their best friends. But men unadvised, and rashly affecting even God for their enemy,

He calls the Jonian Gulfe that which is called the A-driatique Sea.

contrive

contrive canses, which are no causes, of fights and troubles. To break a peace, and runinto a warr, is an easie matter. The nature of things makes the worst courses enfieft to worthless men. But to finish a warr to ones mind, and to get peace againe, is not lo easie. You complaine of letters, which by me were written with no all purpose; but by you are interpreted with a sense, such as conduces to the execution of your own counsells with some pretence. But we can alledge your Alamundarus his forraging our countries, and acting desperate things during the peace spicking our Towns, ranfacking, killing, enflaving our people; fo that you are not to complaine, but to excuse. The complaints of wrong doers are proved by actions, not discourses. And we, notwithstanding all this, resolved to observe the peace; while you feek warr, and coine complaints, which concerne not us. Men seriously embracing quiet, shake off complaints against friends, though they presse hard: But such, whom the articles of their friendship displease, study for pretexts: A thing not becoming ordinary men, much lesse Kings. Lay then these things by; and consider the multitudes to perish in this warr; and who shall beare the blame of what shall happen in it. Consider the oath you took when you receaved your money, which you flight now, but can with no fophistry evade. God is of a more excellent nature, then to be cofened by all the men living. Chofrees would not answer any thing to this Letter, nor dismisse

Anastasins.

But in the end of the Winter, and of the \* thirteenth yeare of Justinians raigne; Chofroes entred the Romanterritories with a great army, and so cleerly brake the Perpetuall Peace. He marche not through the midland, but with the Euphrates to his right hand. Beyond the river stands Circesium, the furthest castle the Romans have, and a very strong one. The river Aborras, being great, meetes the Euphrates there, and the caffle stands in the neck of land between the two rivers; and a long wall from each river, taking in the ground without the castle, makes it a triangle. Chofroes would not attempt so strong a place, nor passe the river; his designe being for Syria and Cilicia; so he marcht on ; and being gone fo much way , as would amount to about three ordinary dayes journey, by the bancks of Euphrates, he came to Zenobia; a City built by Zenobia the wife of Odenatus; who anciently being a Prince of the Saracens, and in amity with the Romans, recovered for them the Easterne Empire, subdued by the Persians. This Zenobia Chofroes considering to be no place of importance, and the Countrey about it defert, and barren; not to take time from his greater affaires, he attempted to get it by composition; and not prevailing, march't on as much way more, and came to the City of the Surenians upon the Euphrates. Staying before it, the horfe he rode on neighed, and pawed with his foot; from which Omen the Magi pronounced the Town would be taken, So he encamped, and from his Camp drew his Army to affault: where an Armenian, one Arfaces, who was Captain of the Garrison brought his men up to the battlements, and after a brave fight, and many enemies slaine, was kill'd by a shot; and the Persians (it being late) retired to their Camp, meaning the next day to renew the assault. But the Romans, despairing upon the death of their Commander, fent out the next day the Bishop of their City, to supplicate Chofrees for the sparing themselves & the Town. Who with some attending him, and a present of fowle, wine, and fine manchets, cast himselfe downe before Chofroes, weeping, and befeeching him to spare miserable men, and a City of little estimation with the Romans, or Persians hitherto, and promising to pay reasonable ransome for their persons and city. Chofrees was offended with the Surenians; the first Roman subjects in his way, and refusing to receave him; nay taking armes and killing many principall Perfians: but he hid his anger under a faire countenance, that by these mens chastisement he might terrify all in his way, and bring them to yeild without fighting. So he took up the Bishop very courteously, receaved his present, and pretended to communicate with some chief men about the ransome, and then to satisfie his request; and so sent him away without the least jealousie of his designe. With him he fent a convoy of Persians, whom he instructed to go to the Town, comforting the Bishop with hopes; that himself and company might be seen by the Townsmen cheerfull without seare, and when the guards opened the gate for

\* Chofroes first \* Justinians reigne ended with the Winter almost; For he was declared Emperour with his Uncle the third day before Eafter. See Secret. History. So this first Invasion of Chosroes was Anno Iustiniani 14. Anno Dom.

him, to cast a stone or piece of wood between, and himder their shutting it awhile; prefently his army should follow; which he prefently made ready, with command to ride full speed to the town upon signall given. The Persians came close to the town, and took leave of the Bishop, whom the Surenians feeing over-joyed, and honourably conducted by the enemy, apprehended no mischief, but set their gate wide open, and caught the bishop in their arms, applauding him. Being in, the Guards thrust the gate to shut it, but the Pershaving thrown a stone between, they could not get it together; and they durst not open it again, perceiving it possest by the enemy. Some report, that it was not a stone, but a piece of wood that the Persians threw down. But before the townsmen could perceive it, Chofroes came with the army, and quickly forced open the gate, and entred the town, and being in a fury, ranfackt the houses, kill'd most of the men, and making the rest slaves, burnt the City to the ground; and then he sent away Anastasius, willing him to carry the news to Justinian, in what part of the world he left Chofroes the sonne of Cabades. But either for covetousnesse, or kindnesse to Enphemia ( whom, being one of these captives, and very beautifull, he made his wife, and infinitely doted on her) he was pleased to doe the poor Surenians some good. He sent to Sergiopolis, a Roman City (bearing the name of Sergius, a famous Saint, and distant from this ruined City fifteen miles to the Southward, in the Barbarian plains ) and directed that Candidus the bishop thereof, should ransome them, being twelve thousand captives, for two Centenaries. But he not having the money, refused it. Chefrees willed him to fend him a bond to pay it hereafter, and so with a small summe to redeeme a multitude of Captives. Candidus did fo, promiting to pay the money within a year, confirming it by oath, and upon penalty, if it were not payd by the day, to pay it double, and to be no more a Priest for breaking his oath. This was drawn up in writing, and so he had the Suremans delivered to him : of whom the most part, not enduring the misery fallen on them, perished.

bhich is but to.f. a man.

#### CHAP. IV.

Hofroes, this done, marcht forward, The Generall-ship of the East the Emperour had so divided, as that all to the Euphrates was left to Belifariss (who formerly had the whole command ) and from thence to the Fersian frontier, all was under Buzes, and till Belifarius should return out of Italy, he had the charge of the whole East; who first lay at Hierapolis with all the army. But understanding what happened to the Surenians, he called to him the chief men of Hierapolis, and told them; 'That when the match is equall, there is reason to fight quickly with an enemy invading; but to men much weaker than their enemy, it is more expedient to circumvent him with ftratagems, then to run into an evident danger : What forces Chofroes hath, they have heard. That if they make the war from the walls, the Persians will block them up; and furnish themselves with provisions out of their 'country (none opposing) while they want within; and that the siege lasting, their walls cannot hold out, being very affaultable, nor can the Romans but ' fall into some desperate estate. But that guarding the City with part of the 'army, and lodging the rest in the bottoms of the mountaines near the City, insesting the enemies camp, and his forragers with suddain courses, they will force him to raise his siege, unable to make his assaults at his ease, nor to provide food for fo great an army. The advise of Euzes seemed pertinent, but he did nothing; but went away with the choicest men of the army; and in what part of the world he was, neither the Romans in Hierapolis, nor the enemy could learn. Instinian, hearing of the invasion, dispatcht Germanus, his brothers sonne, in much haste with three hundred men, promising to send a great army soon after. Who came to Amioch, visited the walls, and found much of them of good strength; the plain ground was compast by the river Orontes, and the hill was steep, craggy, and unapproachable; onely at the top

of mount Casius, he found the wall very affaultable, from a rock stretching far in bredth, and as high as the wall. He directed therefore, either to cut the rock from the wall, that none from it might get up, or else to joyn it to the wall by a tower upon it. But workmen found both these impossible, in so short time with an enemy so near, and to beginne and not perfect it, would but shew the enemy where to make their war. Germanus failing in this, and after long time feeing no army from the Emperour, nor likelyhood of any, fearing Chofroes might make it his chiefe business to take Antioch, hearing the Emperours Nephew to be within it; and the Antiochians having the same thoughts, resolved all in counsell to buy their safety with money. And to Chofroes they fent Megas, Bilhop of Berrhaa, a prudent man; who finding the Persians not far from Hierapolis, and being admitted to Chefroes, besought him to pitty men who never offended him, nor were in cate to refitt him. That it is not fit for a King to use violence against yeelding men; nor ge-' nerous to give the Emperour no time to consult, either for rectifying the peace, or for preparations to war, by a mutuall confent; and to invade thus without warning; their Emperour not knowing in what cale they are. The rude nature of Chofroes could not be put in tune by discreet words; they rather more swell'd him with pride and folly; threatning to destroy all the Syrians and Cilicians; and he bade Megas follow him. Then he encamped before Hierapolis; which finding strong, and a good garrison within, he tent Paul his interpreter to demand money of them; Paul was bred up in the Roman Territory, and went to a Grammar-school in Antioch, and was thought to be descended of Romans. The citizens fearing their walls, which embraced a great circuit to the mountaine; and willing to fave their country from spoyling, agreed to give two thousand pound weight of silver. And Megas obtained of Chofroes with much intreating, to accept \*ten Centenaries of gold for all the Easterne provinces, and so to leave them. Megas returned to Antioch; and Chofrees having his money for Hierapolis, marcht to Berrhaa, standing between Antioch and Hierapolis, from either two dayes journey. But the fourth day, Megas, with few in company, came to Antioch; and the Persian army to the suburbs of Berrhaa. Chofroes urged the Berrhaans by Paul the interpreter, for twice as much money as Hierapolis gave, because their walls were weak, nor could they trust to them. They yeelded to his demand, paying down 2000 l. weight of filver, but the other 2000 l, alledging they could not pay down; and he urging them, they fled by night to the Castle in the high town. The next day, they that came from him to receive the rest of the money, found the gates shut, and could speak with none. The King understanding it, by his command they entred the Citie with scaling ladders, none relifting; and opening the gates let in all the army. Chofroes in a rage would have burnt the City; but first he would take in the Castle; where some Roman souldiers defended valiantly, and killed some enemies. But the Berrhams slying to the castle with all their horses and cattell, by that niggardly trick were undone; for there being but one spring, and all the cattell suffred improvidently to drink up the water, the spring became dry; and in such estate they were.

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## CHAP. V.

Dut Megas could not persuade the Antiochians to the agreement he had made with Chosroes. For the Emperour had sent to him Ambassadours, who then abode at Antioch, Iohn the sonne of Russian, and Iulian his Secretary; which Iulian forbade expressly to give money to the enemy; or to buy thus the Emperours towns. They accused also Ephraim, the Bishop of Antioch, to Germanus, of attempting to betray the City to Chosroes. So Megas departed, nothing done; and the Bishop of Antioch, fearing the Persians coming, went into Cilicia, whether soon after came Germanus with some few, leaving there most of his company. But Megas arrived at Berrhaa, and much afflicted

with what happened, complained to Chofroes for this perfideous usage, to fend him to Antioch about truce, and in the mean time to ranfack his countrymen, who never wrong'd him; to block them up thus in the Castle, and burn and ruin their city. Your self, Sir (answered Chosroes) are too blame, making me lose my time here, and returning so long after the day appointed. For your countrymen; they contracted to pay money, which as yet they cannot think of performing; but presumptuous in their strong Castle, they put us, as you fee, to the necessity of a fiege : Whom I hope with the help of the Gods shortly to chastise for it, and for my Fersians here loft. Megas rcplyed; 'If all must be filent, while you, a King, accuse wretched men; then am I bound to confesse without disputing; absolute power, as in all the rest, 'must overcome in words. But if one may (laying aside respects) stand for truth; O King! you have nothing justly to charge us with. I went the meffenger of your propositions to Antioch, and returning the seventh day (then which what can be more speedy) I find my country thus used by you. Who having abandoned all that is most precious, have nothing now left, but to fight for their lives; and the advantage of not paying the rest of the mony; it being impossible for men to pay what they have not. Names are ancient-'ly defined for things; Disability is one thing, and Ingratitude another. Indeed, he that wantonly refuses, is with reason hated; but one by disability driven to the same point, is to be pittyed rather. Though the worst things 'are befallen us, yet, Sir! leave us with this comfort, not to have been authours of our own misfortunes. Think what you have received, to be the whole fumme; and enough; not weighing it by your own greatnesse, but by the the Berrhaans ability. Force us no further; least at last you feem to want power; seeing excessive undertakings ever are rewarded with unfaisibleness. The most powerfull way is to attempt no impossibles. Let this be our apology for the present: But if I might speak with the poor men; I might 'fay fomething, now not thought of. Coofrees permitted him to goe to the Caftle; who finding there what happened to their spring, weeping, he came back to Chofroes, and falling flat upon the ground, protested, the Berrhwans had no money; and befought him to bestow the bodies of the poor men upon him. Which Chofrees granted upon his lamentable crying, and gave his faith to all in the Castle. Who being so near lost, thus came out; and went whether they pleased; and among them some of the souldiers; but the most revolted to Chosroes; complaining of the state to be behind in their Pay for many years; and they went with him into Persia afterward.

#### CHAP. VI.

But then, hearing from Megas, that the Antiochians would give no mony, he marcht against them, where some were fled the City with their goods, and the rest resolved the like, if Theostistus and Molather, Captains of the forces in Phanicia Libani, had not with a supply of 6000 old souldiers encouraged them, and stayd their flight. Shortly after came the Persian army, and encamped near the river Orontes. Chofroes fent Paul his Interpreter to demand money of the city, and for ten Centenaries of Gold, or leffe, if it were payd presently, he appeared willing to have been gone. Then came to him the Ambassadours, and after much expostulation on both sides, about the breaking the peace, returned. The next day the common people of Antioch, who are not used to serious matters, but still to merriments and debauches, put scorns upon Chofroes, and derided him from the battlements; and had almost stoned Paul, if he had not foreseen and avoyded it, for exhorting them to redeem their persons and city for a little money. Chosroes incensed herewith, resolved upon the affault; and the next day he commanded part of the army to give on by the river fide; and himself went against the top of the hill, where the wall is most affaultable. Here the Romans finding the places they were to fland and fight on, narrow, tied long beams between the turrets

fast together; and enlarged the standings for more bodies to oppose the affailants. The Persians came on valiantly, and their arrows flew to the very top of the hill. The Romans, both fouldiers, and many of the boldest citizens defended fourly; the great bredth and heigth of the rock commanding the wall, and bringing the fight to be equall, as upon even ground. If the Romans had put out but three hundred men, and possess the rock first, and thence kept off the affailants, I doe not think the town had been endanger'd ; for the Barbarians had no means from whence to affault, being beaten perpendicular from the rock and the walls both. But this was not thought of; the Antiochians being to perish by this army. The Persians having Chofrees present, and crying loud unto them, strove beyond power, giving no space to the other to spie or ward their shot. But the Romans pressing up to defend, the ropes under them which tyed the beames suddainly brake, and down they all fell: They who made good the next Turret, hearing the noise, thinking the wall to be thrown down there, ran away. Some young citizens only, who used to quarrell in the Circus, would run no further; being come down from the wall. But the old fouldiers, with Theotistiss and Molaszes, lept on their horses, which stood ready, and rode to the gate, giving out that they went to receive in Buzes with an army with him. Thither ran also the Antiochians, men, women and children, and the place being narrow, they tumbled over one another, overborn with the horses; and the souldiers sparing none, but rather urging on faster, that there was a great slaughter made. But the Persians fet their scaling ladders, and mounted, none opposing; and a while stayd upon the battlements, as if doubtful, and discovering; less there might be ambushes in the rough waste ground, among rocks and precipices, which is within the walls, upon the descent from the hill. Some say it was upon the advise of Chosroes, who perceiving the bad ground, and the souldiers running away, feared to necessitate their turning head upon him, which might hinder him from taking the greatest, fairest, most populous, richest, and happiest Roman City in the East; than which esteeming lesse all things este, he resolved to give the fouldiers fair leifure to run away : fo that the Persians pointed with their hands to them, and bade them make hafte away. And they did fo, with their Commanders, going out of the gate of Daphue, a suburbe of Antioch, with some few of the common people; the Persians having onely not medled with that gate, who when they faw the fouldiers gone far, they descended, and from the hill fell into the midft of the City. Some young men encountred them, fome armed with corflets, but most unarmed; onely throwing stones, and driving them off a little, they seemed to have the better, and fung their Paans, and cryed Emperour Justinian, Collinian, or the fair Conquerour, as it they had the victory indeed. In the mean time Chospaes sent for the Ambassadours to speak with them, litting upon the Turret by the top of the hill; when Zabergaves, one of his commanders, conceiving the conference would be for a composition, came to him hastily, and sayd: 'O Mafter! you differ from the Ramans themselves, to think to preserve these men, who before the danger flout your Majesty, and being beaten, dare impossibilities and desperate acts upon the Persians; as if they feared your humanity should pitty men, scorning preservation, and spare them, that will not be spared; such as lay ambushes for, and kill their Conquerours in a town taken, their own garrison having forfaken them. Chofroes at this, sent many of his best men against them; who brought him word, that all was well; the Persons having by their numbers routed the Antiochians, with much flaughter, sparing no age. Two wives of Noblemen of Autioch are reported to have gotten without the walls, and that feeing the enemies coming towards them on all fides, and fearing to be taken, and abused, they ran to the river Oranies, and covering their faces with their veils, tept into it, and were drowned. So every species of misery fell upon the Antiochians. Then did Chofroes speak thus to the Ambassadours. The old saying, I see, is true; God ever gives the good mingled with the evill; so that we have not so much as laughter, which we repent not of. Good fortune is attended with

some cross, and pleasure with grief, suffering no prosperity untainted. This city, the most renowned of the Roman dominion, I have taken without labour; God hath given me, (you see) a suddaine victory. Yet to behold the flaughter of such multitudes, & my trophy died with so much blood, it takes 'away the pleasure: And hereof are the miserable Antiochians guilty; who being onot able to beat off the Persians , have yet with senceless rashness sought their own deaths, strugling under the yoak against men conquering them so easily. 'My chief men importune me to compais the city, and destroy every man in it: But I, to preferve them, direct rather to drive them on that fly; as being 'impious to insult on men under my power. This Chofroes spake in a vaunting affected way to the Ambassadours; who saw for what reasons he gave the Romans leysure to run away. He was the shrewdest man living to speak things that were not; to conceale the truth; and to lay the blame upon men he wrong'd, for the faults done by himself; Ever ready to agree to any thing, and fweare to it; but more ready to forget both agreement and oath; skillfull to abase his mind to any abomination for money, and yet in his countenance to pretend piety, and in words to deteft the action. As when he so treacherously ruined the Surenians, who never wrong'd him. Espying a principall matrone (the town being taken ) drag'd violently by her left hand by a Barbarian, and with the other haling after her her little child newly weaned, and fallen to the ground, which she would not let goe, it being not able to keep pace; Here he shewed his very humour; Groaning, and seeming to the standers by, specially Anastasius the Ambassadour to weep, he pray'd God to punish the Authors of those things; intimating the Emperour; though he knew well himself to be the onely authour. With this strange bad nature he became King of Persia, after rejection of the gallant Zames, for his one eye; and of the eldeft Caofes, for his Fathers reasonless hatred; and he prevailed easily against his oppugners; and to the Romans did even as much mischief, as he defired. Thus Fortune, resolving to make a man great, ever acts her resolution in the fit time (none opposing the strong current of her will,) the regards not the worth of the man, nor avoids things feeming unfit, nor cares for the worlds rayling for having advanced one not deferving her grace; In brief, not thinking upon any thing, but how to bring her purpose to

#### CHAP. VII.

Chofrees commanded his army to make flaves of the Antiochians surviving, and to ransack their estates; and himself with the Ambassadors went down from the Hill to the Church. Here he found so great treasures of gold and silver, that had he taken no other spoile, he had gone away with a huge wealth. He took down many admirable pieces of marble, which he Commanded to lay without the walls, to be carried into Perfia; and then gave order to burne the City. The Ambassadours requested him, to spare the Church onely, for which he had receaved a fufficient ransome. This he granted, and commanded to fet fire to all the rest; for which leaving some few, he retired to his camp. God had foreshewn a while before this calamitie to this city. The Ensignes of the Cohorts refiding there, standing to the West-ward, of themselves turned to the East, and then returned where they were before, none touching them. This the Souldiers shewed, among many others, \* to the Pourveyor of the expence of the army one Tatianus, born at Mopfuestia in Cilicia, a discreet man. They feeing the prodigie, knew not then how the dominion of the city would be transfer'd from the Western to the Eastern Emperour, that being appointed to fuffer what fell out, they might have no means to avoid it. I am aftonished, recording for ages to come this great calamitie, and comprehending what should be the will of God, highly thus to exalt some man or place, and then upon no reason appearing, to ruine them. It is not lawfull to say, but that all things by him are done with reason; who yet endured Amioch to be laid

\* This Officer he calls before Prafe& of the Camp.

flat with the ground by a most impious man; whose beauty and magnificence could not even then be wholy concealed. The Church onely escaped this destruction, by the Persians care, who had the charge of it; Many houses also were faved in the Cerataum, not by any mans care; but standing in the furthest end of the city, not joyning to other buildings, the fire reacht them not. They burnt also all without the walls, but the Church of Saint Julian, and the houses about it, where the Ambassadours lodged. And the city-walls they wholly forbore. The Ambassadors came againe also to Chosroes, and said thus. If we did not, Sir! Speak to your self present, we should not believe, that Chosroes the son of Cabades were entred the Roman Territories in armes , despising his Oath so lately sworn, (the strongest pawn of faith among men) and breaking Truce, the onely hope left in the calamities of warr. Certainly this course is to translate the life of men to that of beasts. Without Truces must be perpetuall warr, which will banish those from nature who nse it. You wrote lately to your brother, that he is guiltie of breaking the Truce: confessing thereby, that Truce-breaking is a foule mischief. If the fault be not his you do not justly to invade us. If he have done some such thing, yet pursue your action no further, and appeare the better man. He that hath the worst in the ill, oughato overcome in the better. But we know the Emperour hath not transgrest the peace; and we entreat you not to act those mischiefs upon us, which the Persians will never enjoy: and you will gaine nothing, but the fortune of doing desperate injuries to the Romans, with whom you lately made Truce. But Chofrees protested, Justinian to have broken the Truce, and recited particulars, tome materiall, others flight, or counterfeited. Especially he offered to shew the Emperours letters to Alamundarus, and the Hunnes, the maine causes of the warr : but he neither alledged nor shewed , that ever any of the Romans invaded the Persians, or did any hostile act. The Ambassadors denied some things, and in others laid the blame upon Justinians Ministers. In conclusion, Chefroes demanded money; not onely a present summe, being to establish a peace for ever; (For friendships gotten with money, commonly wast with the money) but a yearely pension for a firme peace, and for the Persians guarding the Caspian Gates, and no more importuning about Daras; for which they shall be their perpetual stipendiaries. What! said the Ambassadors, would you have the Romans pay them a tribute? No! quoth he, but to have the Persians their souldiers, giving them pay for their service. You give pensions to the Hunnes and Saracens, not as they are Tributaries, but to guard your Territories. After much debate, in the end they came to this accord; That Chofrees should presently receave fifty Centenaries of gold, and a perpetuall yearly payment of five more; and fo do no more mischief, but receaving hostages upon this accord to retire with his whole army into his country: whither other Ambassadors should be sent from Instinian to settle a firme

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## CHAP. VIII.

Chofroes then went on to Selencia, a maritime city, about fixteen miles from Antioch, where neither finding nor harming any Roman, he washt onely in the Sea-water, did facrifice to the Sun, and whom he pleased, with a deale of superstition, and rode back againe. Being come to his camp, he desired much, (as he said, onely for curiosity) to see Apamea, which stood neer. The Ambassadours unwillingly yeilded, upon condition, that having seen the city, and receaved 1000. I'. weight in silver, he should retire without spoiling it. But Chofroes appeared to the Ambassadors and all men, to take that journey, onely to catch at some trivial cause to sack the city, and countrey about it. Then he went up to Daphne, a suburbe of Antioch, where he admired the Grove and the Fountaines, things worth the seeing. Having sacrificed to the Nymphs, he came away, doing no mischief there, but the burning of the Temple of Michaell the Archangell, upon this mistaking. An eminent Persian, well known to the King, rode with some in his company by a ragged

piece of ground, called Tretum, where stands the Church of the Archangell made by Evaris; where sinding a young man of Antioch hidden, and alone, he quitted his company and chased him. The young man was a Butcher, named Aeimachus; who ready to be caught, turned upon his pursuer suddainly, and with a stone hit him under the eare into the dura mater: and being fallen down, dispatcht him with his own Cimiter, risled his armes and apparell, got up on his horse, and rode cleer away by good chance, or his knowledge of the wayes. Choses was grieved at the accident, and commanded some to burne that Church of the Archangell; who thinking he meant this in Daphne,

Then Chofroes with his army went to Apamea: where is a piece of wood of

burnt it with the buildings about it.

a cubit long, part of Christs Cross, brought thither long agoe by a Syrian. This the Inhabitants believing to be a great defence to them and their city, have put it in a casket fet all with gold and precious stones, and committed it to three Priests to keep ; and one day yearely the whole city brings it out, and adores it. The Apameans were affraid of the Persians coming, hearing too, how in Chofrees was no truth : and they entreated their Bishop Thomas , to shew them the wood of the Cross that they might doe it their last worship: When a miracle happened above reason and belief. The Priest carrying, and shewing the wood, a bright flame hovered above it, and the roofe over it shone with an extraordinary light. The Priest goeing round the Church, the light went along, keeping still the place of the roofe directly over him. The Apameans were ravisht with delight at the miracle, at once rejoyeing and weeping; and now confident of their preservation. Thomas having gone round about the Church, put up the wood of the Cross into the casket, and covered it and suddainely the thining ceased. Understanding the enemies to be neer , he went to Chofrees; who asking him if the Apameans meant to oppose his army, he answered, they had no such thought. Then open your gates (quoth Chosroes) and re-ceave me into your city with some few. I am come (replied the Bishop) for the same purpose to invite you. So the Army pitcht their tents by the walls, and Chofroes with two hundred of his best men rode into the city. And no sooner in , but he forgot his promise to the Ambassadors, commanding the Bishop to give him not 1000 l, weight of filver onely, nor ten fold that; but all their treasures of gold and filver, being very great. I doubt not, but without scruple he had fackt, enslaved the whole city, if God had not manifestly hindred him: So did covetousness and vaine glory besothim; For to lead cities into captivity he esteemed it a great renown; and thought it nothing to use the Romans thus, contrary to accords and truces. This humour of his appeares by his attempt upon Daras, and the Callinicians during the truce, which I shall relate hereafter. But God, as I said, preserved the Apameans. When Chosroes had taken their treasures, and Thomas saw him drunk with aboundance, he brought the wood of the Cross, and opening the casket, shewed it him, saying; O Excellent King! This is all I have left; This casket beautified with gold and precious stones, I envy not unto you: Take it with all the rest. But this piece of wood is to us both preservative, and precious. I beg, and entreat you Sir to give it me. Which Chosroes granted. Then to shew magnificence, he willed the people to goe to the Circus; and the Charioters to run their matches; and himselfe was an earnest beholder of their sports. But hearing how Justinian was long addicted to the Veneti, meaning to be contrary to him in that also, he would procure the vi-thory for the Prasini. The Charioters from the starting place set out; and one that wore the Blew, got the start, another wearing Green, following close at the others wheels. Chofrees supposing it done purposely, chased, and cryed out, That Cefar was foremost; which should not be; commanding the foremost Chariot to stay, and so cast behind, to get afore againe if it could. His command being fulfilled, his side, the Prasini Won the match. There an Apamean came, and complained to him of a Persian, for entring his house, and forcing his daughter a virgin. He in a great rage, commanded the man to be produced, and crucified in the campe; But the people clamour'd to him, and beg'd to spare the man. Chefroes promised to pardon him, but shortly after

fecretly crucified him; and thefe things done, rode back with his army.

And at Chalcis, diftant ten miles and a half from Berrhea, He forgot the accord againe; encamped before the city, and fent Paul the interpreter, threatning to force their city, unless they buy their safety, ransome themselves, and deliver him the Souldiers in their town with their Commander. The Chalcians feared both the Emperours, and swore they had no fouldiers; hiding most of them, and Adonachus their Captaine, in poore cottages from the encmy; And getting up hardly \* two Centenaries of gold, (their city being not | 6300.1. ferl. rich) with it they ranfomed their bodies and city. From hence Chofroes meant to make his retreat, not by the way he came, but to cross the Euphrates, and plunder Mesopotamia, Neer Obbane, which stands five miles from the castle of Barbaliss, he made a bridge, and went over, fignifying to the army to follow, and that the third day by fuch an houre, he would take up the bridge; and some of them chancing to be cast behind, at the houre, he not regarding them, fent to take up the bridge, and they got home as they could,

## CHAP.

Hofroes was then ambitious to take Edeffa; induced by a confident tradition among the Christians, (which troubled him) that it was never to be taken; affirmed upon this ground. Augarus, long agoe Toparch of Edeffa ( so they then called their nationall Kings ) was one of the wisest men of his time, and for that cause in much favour with the Emperour Angustus. Desiring to be a Roman Confederat, he went to Rome; and conferring with Augufrus, fo amazed him with his wit, and inamour'd him with his conversation, that he would not part with him, though he urged his dismission. At last, after long absence, longing to returne to his country, but not persuading Augufus to let him goe; he used this devise. He went out neer Rome to hunt (being therein studious) and compassing much country, took many wild beasts alive, and from every countrey where he caught them, carried of the earth home with him to Rome, together with the beafts. Augustus fitting in the Circus (as his manner was) Augarus came to him, and shewed him the beasts, and the earth, and which country earth belong'd to every beaft. The earth he caused to be laid in severall parts of the Circus, and the beasts from one place to be let goe: When every beaft leaving one another, ran to the country earth from whence he was taken. Augustus beheld it long and earnestly, wondring to see nature untaught make even to beafts defirable their native earth. Then Angarus suddainly taking him by the knees, said, O Sir! And what mind doe you think I have, who have wife and children, and a Kingdom (though a small one) in mine own countrey? Augustus overcome, and forced with the truth, dismissed him, though unwillingly; and bad him ask him fome thing. Augarus prayed him to build a Circus at Edeffa; which being granted him, and he difmiffed, he came home. His Subjects askt him; what good he had brought them from the Emperour Augustus. He answered, That he had brought a Grief without damage, and a joy without gaine; intimating the fortune of the Horie-races. Augarus growing old, and vexed with a grievous gout, and the paine, and fitting still troubling him, he consulted with the skillfullest Physicians from all lands; but finding no ease, he forsook them, and absolutely despairing, bewayled his fortune. At that time Jesus, the Son of God, conversed in the body with the people of Palestine; by committing no fin, and by working miracles, manitetting himself indeed the Son of God. He raised dead men, as from sleep; to men born blind he opened their eyes, cleanfed leprous bodyes, lame feet he fet loose, and did what ever Physicians pronounce incurable. Augurus hearing the relation from some Palestinians, residing at Edessa, took comfort, and wrote to Jesus, to leave Jury, and those ungratefull men, and to live with him. Christ wrote back againe to Augarus, refusing to come, but promising health by his Letter. They fay he added this, That the city should never be conquered by the Barbarians. This Postscript, the writers of the history of i

that time knew not of; but the Edessenians affirme to have found it with the Epistle; which Epistle they have hung for a defence, engraven upon their city gates. But shortly after it came under the Persian, not forced, but thus. Augurus upon the letter from Christ, grew well, and having lived long, deceased. But his son succeeding him, being the ungodlyest man living, wronged his subjects; for which fearing the Romans chastistement, he revolted to the Persians. But long afterwards the Edessenians killed the Barbarian Garrison, and yeilded their city to the Romans. Which Chosroes knowing, studies to recover the city: and this I guess by things happened in my time, which shall be related in their seasons. And I have had a conceit, that if Christ did not write that Postscript, yet (men having that opinion) he would keep the city from taking; that he might give them no excuse of wandring.

But upon this ground Chofrees much affected the taking of Edessa. At Eatne, a little Town three dayes journey from Edessa, he lodged his army; and by break of day was marching toward Edessa. But they went out of their way so, that the next night they lodged in the same place: and this happened twice: And when with much adoe he was gotten to Edessa, they say, his chopps swell'd with Rhewme; which so troubled him, that he resolved not to attempt the city. But he sent Panl, and demanded money of them. They said, that of their city they had no seare; but not to hurt their towns, and villages, they agreed upon two Centenaries of gold; which he receaved, and

kept his agreement.

### CHAP. X.

Hen came letters from Justinian to Chofroes, agreeing to ratifie the treatie between him and the Ambassadours; upon which he discharged the Hostages, and prepared for his retreat; being pleased to ransome the Antiochian captives: the Edessenians therein shewed an incredible alacrity. Not a man, but according to his ability brought the ransomes into the Church, and some above ability. Courtifans threw in their Jewells, and the husbandman, wanting money or householdstuffe, brought his affe or poore ewe to the Church, that a great quantity was gathered of gold and filver, and other goods; but none of it was given for the ransome. Buzes being there, prohibited the ransoming, expecting some great gaine out of it. So Chosroes with the captives marcht on. The Carrenians met him, and offered him a great fumme, but being no Christians but Heathers, he would not take it. But of the Constantinians he took their monie, yet claimed the city to be his from his Anceftors. For Cabades having taken Amida, would have also gotten Edeffa, and Constanting. And being before Edessa, he demanded of the Magi, if it were to be wome, pointing with his right hand to the place. They told him, no. For by ftretching his right hand to it, he gave a symbole, not of taking, or of hurting the city, but of preservation. He was satisfied with this, and led his army against Constantina, and encamped, with purpose to besiege the town. Baradotus then Bishop of the city (an upright godly man, mighty with God in prayer, whose very countenance shewed him to be indeed gracious with God) came to Cabades with a present of wine, dry figgs, hony, and fine manchets; and befought him, not to attempt a town of no importance, neglected by the Romans, without garrison, or other defence, but the poore miserable inhabitants. Cabades upon this, not onely bestowed the city upon him, but gave him all the store-victualls of the army for the siege, and then departed out of the Roman territory. Hereupon Chosroes claimed the city to belong to him from his Father.

Being come to Daras, he sate down before it. Within, the Romans; and the Generall Martinus prepared for their defence. The city hath two walls, the innermost large and faire, and sixty foot high, with turrets; all one hundred foot high: The outward wall is much lesse, but strong and of good importance. The ground between is about sifty foot broad; where, upon the approach of

an enemy, the Daremans put their cattle. At first Chofroes with multitude of arrows forced upon the walls to the West-ward, and set fire to the gates of the leffer wall; but none durft enter. Then he wrought a Mine closely on the East-fide of the town, the rest of it being built upon a rock. The Persians beginning from the town ditch, being very deep, were neither seen, nor at all discovered by the enemy. And now they were under the foundation of the outter wall, and in the ground between the walls, and shortly to pass the great wall, and take the town; when from the camp of Chofroes, about noon, came a man (or more than a man) all alone to the wall, feeming to gather up the scattered arrows; and withall warding with his shield, to flout those upon the battlements. Then discovering the businesse, he bade them watchfully provide for their fafety, and went his way. The Romans immediately dig'd for life in the ground between the walls; which the Persians not discerning, went on with their work, in a streight line to the wall; and the Romans, by the advise of Theodorm, a famous Ingineer, traversed with their Mine very deep, that in the end the Perfians in the ground between the walls, fell fuddainly into the Romans crofs Mine; who killed the first comers, but the rest escaped to the camp. The Romans would not pursue them in the dark. Chofrees failing in this, and feeing no hope of taking the town, capitulated for a thoufand pound weight of filver, which he had from the befieged, and went home. Instinian, for this attempt of Chofrees upon Daras, during the truce, refused to ratifie the Treaty. And this was the successe of Chofroes first Invasion, and fo the fummer ended.

In Affria he built a City a dayes journey from Crefiphon, and named it Antioch of Chofrees, planting there the Antiochian captives. He built them a publique Bath, and a Cirem, and fitted it for other delights; bringing from Antioch, and other Roman Cities, Charieters, and skilfull Musicians. He kept thefe Antiochians at the publique charge, not like captives; and termed them Basilies, as exempt from all Magistrates but the King. If a Roman captive ranne from his Master, and fled to this Antioch of Chosroes, being there avowed by an inhabitant for his Kinsman, he might not be led away by his master, though a very principall Persian. The Prodigy which befell the Antiochians in the reign of Anastasina was now confummated. A ffrong wind then, and a suddain, blew upby the rootes, the goodly tall Cypreses in Duphne, the suburb of Amiech; it being not lawfull to cut them. Shortly after this prodigy, in the reign of Juline, an Earthquake shook the City so, that it overthrew most of the buildings, and destroyed three hundred thousand men. But in this last destruction the City, as I have related, was

even ruined. And now Belifarins the Emperour fent for to Conftantinople; where having wintred, at the beginning of the fpring he fent him Generall against Chofrees; with the Commanders who came with him out of Italy. Of whom Valeriams was made Generall of the Cohorts in Armenia; Martinus being formerly fent into the East; so that, as I said, Chefroes found him at Daras. Of the Goths, Vitigis stayd at Constantinople; the rest served with Belisarins against Chosroes. Arthis time the Ambassadour of Vitigis, who called himfelf a Bishop, dyed in Persia. The other stayd awhile with them for an Interpreter, then retired into Roman land; where John, commander of the forces in Mesopotamia, took him near Confantina, and imprisoned him; and being quefrioned, he told him all his negotiation. Belifarius made hafte to prevent any new Invafion of Chofrees; But

Anno Dom. 541. & Juftiniani 15.

## CHAP. XI.

N the mean time Chofroes led an army into Lazica, upon this ground invi-N the mean time Chofroes led an army into Lazica, upon this ground invi-ted by the Lazians. The Lazians first inhabited Cholchis, and were subject Dom. 541. to the Romans; not to payment of tribute: Onely upon decease of their King,

Second Invafion of Chofroes ,

the Roman Emperour sent to the Successor the Ensignes of Majesty; and they guarded the marches of their country; that the Hunnes might not by Mount Caucasu (which borders with them) passe through Lazica, and invade the Romans. Neither for this received they money, nor army from the Romans, nor served in their wars; only they trafficked in Merchandise with the Romans of Pontue; bartring skins, hides, and flaves for corn, falt, and other commodities they want. But upon the accident formerly recited by me, to Gargenes King of Iberia, fome Roman forces were lodged in Lazica; with whom the Barbarians were discontented, and chiefly with Peter the General, a man naturally mischeivous. He was born in Arzanene, a country beyond the river of Nymphins, subject to the Persians. Being a child, he was taken captive by Instine, invading Persia with Celers army after the taking of Amida; who used much humanity to him, and sent him to a Grammar school. Then was he Scribe to Justine; who comming to the Empireupon the death of Anastafin, made him a Generall, wherein he grew infinitely covetous, and lewd to all men. Justinian afterward sent Commanders into Lazica, and at last Iohn Tzibu; a man raised from mean condition, and advanced to this Generalship, onely for being the wickedest of all men, and very sufficient to find unjust revenues. And he ruined and confounded the affairs of the Romans and Lazians. He perswaded Justinian to build a Sea-town in Laziea, called Petra: Where fitting, as in a Cittadell, he made booty of Lazica. He prohibited Merchants to import Salt, or other provisions to the Lazians, nor to buy ought of them; but letting up a Monopoly at Petra, himself was both retailer, and fole master of the sayd trade, and fold to the Lazians, not at usuall prizes, but as he lift. The people also were displeased at the Roman army, lying upon their country, not formerly used; and not enduring it, resolved to revolt to the Perfians. And (unknown to the Romans) they fent Ambaffadors to negotiate the same with Chofrees, with instructions to take affurance from Chefrees, not to leave the Lazians to the Romans without their consent; and fo to come home with an army of Persians. These Ambassadors in Persia get-ing private accesse to Chosroes, spake thus. 'Great King, if ever fortune did 'gladly reduce men revolted foolishly from their friends to strangers, such think us the Lazians to be. We were ancient allyes of the Persians, and did, and received many good turns; the monuments whereof remaine to this day, both among our Records, and in your royall Palace. But in succeeding times, our ancestors either neglected by you, or upon some other ground, entred into league with the Romans. And now both we and our King present to the Persians our selves and country, praying you to consider of us thus. If upon no hard measure from the Romans, but of meer ill nature, we come to you, reject us, as not likely to be faithfull to you. The manner of breaking friendship, is a detection of that made with others. But being to the Romans friends in words onely, but in effect trufty flaves, and fuffering most unrighteous tyranny; receive us for your servants, formerly your friends; detell a bitter tyranny rifen so near you; and doe things worthy the justice 'naturall to the Persians. He is not just who does no wrong himself, if he refeue not men oppressed by others, being able. To speak some of the things practifed by these accursed Romans: To our King they have left the only outfide of Royalty, themselves have usurped the authority. The King, in the condition of a minister, stands in aw of a Generall directing him. They have laid an army upon us, not to guard our country (for none molest us but themselves) but to lock us up in prison, while themselves are masters of what is ours. Nay, fee Sir ! a more expedite devise of theirs to rob us. Their own superfluities they compell us to buy, and they buy what Lazica affords for their use; but so, as the price in both is set down as our conquerours please. And thus they rob us of our necessary commodities, and our mony too; under the specious name of Trade, being indeed a meer oppression. Over us is a Governour, a retailer, with his authority making a trade upon our wants. This being the cause of our revolt, it hath the justice of it in it felf. But as to the commodity resulting to you by accepting the Lazians';

you shall add unto the Persian Empire an ancient Kingdom, and therein enlarge your glory. Then shall you by our Countrey have the conveniencie of uling to Roman Seas. Wherein building shipps, the very Palace of Constanti-'nople will be accessible unto you, with ease, nothing being between to stop you, Adde also, that it will be in your power, for the bordering Barbarians to spoile the Romans every yeare, Lazica, (as you know) being now their on-'ly rampier against the mountaines of Caucasus, So that right leading, and profit following, not to admit our proposition, is certainely no good coun-'fell. Chofroes was pleased with this discourse, and agreed to aide the Lazians: Demanding of the Ambassadors, if it were possible for a great army to march into Lazica, which he heard to be fcarce passable for a traveller, being mountainous, and for a long way entangled with thick woods. They told him that by cutting the trees, and throwing them into the ill passages, there would be easie way for his whole army; and they promised to be his guides, and to work in the head of the army. Chofroes encouraged herewith, gathered a great army, and prepared for the voyage, not discovering his intent, but to his most fecret Counsellors, and charging the Ambassadors not to reveale their negociation. His pretence was, a journey into Iberia, to fettle things there; where

a nation of Hunnes was reported to invade the Persian dominion.

In the meane time Belisarius gather'd together the army in Mesopotamia, and fent some into Persia to discover; intending to encounter the enemy there, if he invade againe; and he mustred, and furnished his Soul-diers; being naked, and unarm'd, and afraid of the name of a Persian. The espialls returning affured him, there would bee no invasion; Chosroes being engaged in a warr with the Hunnes. Belisarius upon this refolved to enter the enemies land with his army. Arethas came up to him with an army of Saracens; And the Emperour wrote to him to invade the enemies countrey immediately. So that calling to him the Commanders at Daras, he 'spake thus. Fellow Commanders! I know you experienced in many warrs; and I call you not now, by remembrances or exhortations to provoke your resolution against the enemy ( I doe not thinck you need discourses to make you valiant ); but that by consulting we may chuse the best for the Emperours affaires. For the warr, more then any thing affects the directions of good counfell: And those who counsell, must be free from awe and feare. For feare amazing, suffers not the judgement to make choice of the best things: And awe clouding better determinations, carries the judgement commonly to the worfe. If therefore the Emperour or my felf, be thought to have made any resolution already, believe it not. For he being farr distant from the affaires, cannot fit proceedings to new occasions; and so there is no feare; if by crossing him, you effect what is most expedient for his affaires. And me, being but a man, and after a long time come from the West, something cannot but passe unseen. So that without standing in awe of my opinion, you are to speak boldly what is best for your selves and the Emperour. At first, we came hither to restraine the enemy from invading our countrey. But now, things succeeding above our hopes, we may consult concerning his countrey. For which purpose being now assembled, it is fit for every man to speak freely, what he holds most expedient. Belisarius spake thus; and Peter and Buzes bad lead on the army without delay into the enemies countrey, whose vote all the Affembly followed. Requithancus and Theotistus, commanders of the forces in Phanicia Libani, said, they approved the invasion also, but feared in their absence, Alamundarus would forrage Phanicia and Syria, and that the Emperour might be offended for their not guarding the country under their charge: So they refused to accompany the army. Belisarius said, they imagined that which was not; For being now Summer, two moneths of this season the Saracens consecrate to their God, and make no inroads. And so promising to dismisse them, and their troopes within two moneths, he commanded them to goe along, and with much diligence prepared for the Invation.

## CHAP. XII.

But Chofroes and the Persian army, being come through Iberiate the confines of Laxica, guided by the Ambassadors, cut the trees which they found thick and entangled, and threw them into the fleep and ragged wayes, and so past easily, none encountring them. When they were come into the midft of Lazica (where the Poets fain to have been acted the fortunes of Talon and Medea ) Gubazes, King of the Lazians, came and adored Chofrees as his mafter; rendring himself with his Royall Palaces, and all Lazica. Petra stands in Lazica upon the Euxine Sea, formerly a meane town, but by Justiman furnished with walls, and other ornaments, and made a strong famous place. Chofrees understanding the Roman Forces with John Tzibus to be there, lent an army, and Aniavedes Generall thereof, to surprize it. But John knowing their coming, directed no man to fally, nor to be feen upon the battlements; and he placed his forces in armes, close to the gates, commanding them not to ut-ter the least found or voice. The Persian being come before the walls, and seeing no man, supposed the city wast, and abandoned by the enemy. So he approach't to fet up scaling ladders, expecting none to defend, because he saw nor heard no enemy, and he sent to Chosroes, to let him know, what they found. He fending the most of his army, commanded a generall affault, and one of the Commanders to make use of the Ramme neer the gates, and from the neereft hill to the city himself was a spectator of the business. When suddainly the Romans opened the gates, and falling upon the enemy unaware, killed most of them, specially those about the Ramme; The rest with their Generall ran away and escaped. Chofrees in anger crucified Amavedes, for being over-stragem'd by Johna retailer, and no fouldier. Some fay he crucified, not Aniavedes, but the commander who attended the Ramme. Then himfelt with his whole army encamped before the town; and perceaving upon view the fortifications not very tenable, he brought on his forces, commanding to shoot at the battlements. The Romans defending with their engines, and shot, at first the Persians (though they shot thick) hurt little; but suffred much, being shot from high. Afterward (for Petra was to be taken by Chofrees) John, being shot into the neck, died. Then the Romans became careless; and it growing dark the Barbarians retired. The next day, they drew a mine to the town: which for fleepe rocks about it, is not accessible, nor yet to the sea-ward; but by one narrow entrance only upon plaine ground, with high clifts on each side. There the builders of the city foreseeing the walls easie to be forced, made from each clift a long wall, a croffe the entrance, and at each end two turrets, wrought with great stones, not hollow in the middle, but whole from the ground, and very high, and the stones so joyned, as not to be shaken with Ramme or other engine. The Persians closely with their mine, were come under one of these turrets; whence carrying out the stones, they set up timbers, and put fire to them. Which encreasing by degrees, crumbled and brake the firme els of the stones, and so loosening the Turret, down it came suddainly. The Romans in it perceaved it just so much before, as not to fall with the Turret, and to get within the city walls. Then the Enemy could eafily force their entrance upon even ground. But the Romans affrighted, came to a parly, and receaving Chofrees oath, for their persons, and goods, yeilded themfelves and the city by composition. Chofrees finding in Petra much wealth belonging to John, took it; but of any other, himself nor the Persians toucht nothing; And the Romans, having every man his own, mingled with the Perfian army.

## CHAP. XIII.

BElisarius heard nothing from these parts; but marche with the army toward Nisibis; and being half way thither kept his right hand way, where

were store of tprings, and a spacious champian to encampe. But some had no mind to goe on, fo that Belifaring made this speech to the Commanders. did not mean to publish my determination : For a word vented in a camp foreds at last even to the enemy. But I fee every man will be an absolute Commander; therefore I shall impart, what I thought to concealer; with "this preamble, that when in an army many will be absolute, nothing can be well done. Certainly Chafries invading others, bath not left his own country without guard, especially this City, being the first therof, and a rampire to the reff; wherein, I know, he hath lodged a garrison to frong, and of so good omen, as will be able to oppose our affaults. A demonstration thereof is Nabeder their Commander, who next to Chofroes is the prime man for reputaction in Perfia. Who doubtleffe will fet upon us, and we shall not be rid of chim, without vanquishing him in fight. If we fight near the city, the Per-Gans will have the advantage, backt with their fortification, to follow their execution securely, if they overcome; and if they be overcome, to be prefently within their walls, which you fee well defended, and inexpugnable: On the other fide, if we rout them, we may enter the town pell-mell with sthe enemy, or thrust between them, and force them to fly to some other re-'gion, and o get Nifibio, having none to defend it. Upon this speech of Belifarius, the rest obeyed, and kept within the camp : Onely Peter, General of Armenia, flood fill, with a good part of the army under his command, a mile and a quarter from Nifibis. Belifaring put in order of battail the troupes with himself, and fent direction to Peter to stand in readinesse till he gave the fignall, and to observe at noon, that the Barbarians will fally, because themfelves dine in the evening, and the Romans at noon. But Peters men flighted his commands, and being faint with the funne (for that city is extremely hot) layd down their arms, and disorderly fell to gather figs, without apprehenfion of an enemy. Which Nabedes observing, gallopt up to them with his army. They feeing them iffue out of the gates (being in an open champian ) fent to Belifarius to succourchem; and themselves tumultuously, and in confusion encountred. Kelifarins, before the messenger came, saw the enemies motion by the dust raised, and with his troupes rode amain to their succour. But in the mean time the Persians charged them; which they not enduring, ran away. The enemy pursuing took Peters Eufign, and flew fifty of them. Doubt. less they had dyed every man, it Belisarius had not received them into his troups, much distressed. Where first the Goths presenting their long thick Lances, the Terfians stood them not, but fell to running, and the Romans, and Goths purfuing killed a hundred & fifty of them. The chafe was not long. So the enemy got within their walls, and the Romans returned to their camp. The next day the Persians set the Enfign of Peter for a trophy, upon one of the turrets; and laught and brag'd, but durst fally no more out of their fortifications.

Pelifarius confidering Nisibis strongly scituated, and having no hope to take it, urged to rife thence, and to march, where they might suddainly spoyl the enemy. So after a dayes march he came to a castle of the Fersians cilled Sisteranum, full of inhabitants, and eight hundred of the best Persian horsmen to guard it; commanded by Blechames, a principal man. The Romans encamped before the Castle, and assaulting were repulsed with losse of many; the walls being strong, and the Barbarians opposing obstinately. Belifarins then called his fellow Commanders, and told them; How experience of many wars taught them to foresee the event in actions doubtful, and before disafters to chuse the better way. That they knew their disadvantage now, marching in an enemies country, full of strong Garrisons. If they goe on, it is likely that from Nisibis the enemy will follow them, and infest them with ambushes. And if another army meet them, they will be forced to a battail with both, and may be undone. Then if they be routed, they have no means of retreat into Roman land. They should not therefore crush themfelves with inconfiderate industry, nor with ambition to winne, hurt the Roman affairs. An ignorant during brings to destruction, and a sober de-

laying

laying preserves men. That themselves therefore should sit down before the Caftle, and that Arethas with his Saracens (men unapt for affaults, but excel-'lent plunderers) should enter Affria, and with them some of their best soul-'diers. These, it no opposition appear, to take the spoyl; and (the enemy opposing) to retire to this army: Which if it take the Castle, may passe the "Tigris, fearing no mischief behind, and informed in what state the Asyrians are. They all approved this advise of Belifarius: Who accordingly commanded Arethas to go against the Affrians, and sent with him 1 200 souldiers, most of his own Targettiers, commanded by two of his Lanciers, Trajanus and John firnamed Phagas, and directed to be obedient to Arethas, whom he instructed to torrage the countries, and coming back to the camp, to report what forces the Affrians had. These past the Tigris into Affria, found the country rich, and without guard, and so ransackt many towns and got much wealth. Belisarius in the mean time understood from Persian prisoners, That the Castle (not using, as Darm and Nisibis, to lay in yearly provisions, and then prevented by an enemy, and having brought in none, and many fuddainly reforting thither for refuge ) wanted provisions. He sent therefore George, a wise man, and trusted with his secrets, to try if the place might be had by composition, Who with his reasons, and fair words, prevailed with them to take assurances for their safety, and to render themselves and the Castle to the Romans. Belisarius did no harm to the Inhabitants, being Christians, and antiently Romans. The Persians with Blechames he sent to Constantinople, and threw down the walls of the Castle, These Persians and Blechames the Emperour sent into

Italy against the Goths.

But Arethas, fearing the Romans might take away his booty, would return no more to the camp. And he commanded fome scoutes sent out purposely by him, to report a great army of enemies to be at the passage of the river; upon which he advised John and Trajan to return some other way into the Roman Territories. So they went not to Belifarius, but keeping the Euphrates on their right hand, came to Theodo fiopolis, standing upon the river of Abor-The Roman army with Belifarins, hearing nothing of these forces, were troubled and affraid : And the faid fiege having being long in the Perhan Mesopotamia, infinitely hot; the men being not used to heats, specially those of Thrace; and stirring much in them, and lodging in close cabbins in the fummer, the third part of them lay halfdead with Feavers; and all were earnest to be gone home; specially Requithancus, and Theoctistus, Captaines of Phanicia Libani. Who importuned Belisarius (the Saracens consecrated time being past) protesting to stay there to no purpose, and in the mean time to abandon the towns of Libanus and Syria to Alamundarus. Belisarius hereupon called a counfell, where John the sonne of Nicetas first rose, and spake thus; Excellent Belisarius! I think the world hath not had, neither for time nor vaclour, a Captain like your felf. This opinion prevalles not onely with Ro-'mans, but with all Barbarians. And certainly hereby you will preserve this 'glory firm, if you bring us alive into the Roman dominions; as we now 'are, our expectations are not fair. Our Saracens, and best men are come over the Tigris, and gone into our upper Provinces, so fast, as not to send us so 'much as a meffenger. Requithancus and Theotistus will be instantly gone; 'sfupposing Alamundarus forraging Phanicia: and of the rest we have more ' fick, then found men, to bring them into the Roman dominions, Such, as if an enemy light on us here, or upon our retreat, not a man will be left to report our difaster to the Romans at Daras. To march up higher, I think it not pof-'fible in reason, Whilst therefore some hope is left, 'cis good counsell to make 'a faire retreat; and madness for men in our danger, not to advise upon safety, but designes on an enemy. All approved this speech of John; and cryed out for a speedy retreat. So Belifarius put his fick into waggons, and led home the army; where he heard what Arethas had done, but could have no right of him, being not yet come to him.

Chofrees in the mean time, having taken Petra, had the newes of Belisarius invasion; of the battaile by Nisibis; the taking of Sisabranum, and what the

forces, which with Arethas past the Tigris, had done. So leaving a Garrison in Petra, he went into Persia with the rest of his army, and Roman captives. These were the occurrents of Chosroes's second invasion; And Belisarius was by the Emperour sent for to Constantinople, where he spent his Winter.

### CHAP. XIV.

IN the beginning of the Spring, Chofroes invaded the Roman territorie the third time, with a great army; keeping the Euphrates to his right hand. Candidns, Bishop of Sergiopolis, having not kept his day with Chofroes, was afraid; and came to the Persian Camp; where he befought Chofroes not to be offended with him; That he never had money, nor ever thought of ransoming the Surenians himselfe; he had been a sutor to the Emperour, but got no good But Chefrees put him in prison, and bitterly tortured him, and bad him procure double the fumme formerly agreed. He prayed him to fend to Sergiopolis, to receave the treasures of the Church ; which Chofroes did, and Candidus fent some with his messengers : to whom the Sergiopolitans gave many of those treasures, protesting to have nothing left. But Chofroes said, those should not fuffice; he must have more; and he fent some in pretence to make privy search for their wealth, but Indeed to furprize thecity : But Sergiopolis was not then to be taken, For a Saracen under Alamundarus (being a Christian) named Ambrus, came under the wall by night; revealed the plot; and bad them receave no Persians into their town. So. Chosroes seeing his men returne without effect, in a great rage fent fix thousand men to force the town. Who affaulted, and the Sergiopolitans at first defended bravely. But grown weary and affraid, they advised to render the city; having but two hundred Souldiers within. But Ambrus came againe by night, and told them that within two dayes the Persians would raise their siege; their water absolutely failing. Whereupon they refused to parly; and the enemy afflicted with third, rose, and returned to Chofroes. Who would not difmifs Candidus: It behoved, I think, that having

broke his oath, he should no more be a Priest.

But when Chofroes came into Comagena, called Euphratesia, he would not forrage, nortake townes, as having spoiled all in Syria formerly in his way, and either sackt or ransom'd them, as hath been said. But his intent was to march directly into Palestine, and there to take the spoile, especially of the Treasures at Jerusalem; hearing the Province was fertile, and richly inhabited. The Romans both Commanders and Souldiers had no mind to meet the enemy, to stay his passage; but thought it enough within their fortifications to preserve them, and themselves. Justinian advertised of this Invasion, againe sent Belisarius; who taking Post-horses, arrived with great speed, (having no Souldiers with him in Comagena. Justus the Emperors brothers son, with Buzes and some other, were gotten into Hierapolis; and hearing Belssarius to be neer, wrote this letter to him. Chosroes, as your self know, hath againe snuaded the Romans, with a much greater army then formerly. Whither he intends, he yet makes no shew: onely we heare, he is very neer, and hurts no town in his way, still marching forward. Come therefore speedily unto us, if possibly you can slip by the enemy; that you may be preserved for the Emperour, and guard here Hierapolis with us. Belisarius liked not this letter, but went to Europus, a town upon the Euphrates, from whence he sent, and levyed an army; which encamped there; and to the commanders he returned this answer; If Choiroes goe against other people, and not Romans, you have fallen upon a most safe counsell. They who by lying still can avoid the mischief, are madd to run into a needless danger. But you being quit of the Barbarian, he will fall upon some other country, the best he can find, and without garrisons; Know then, that a valiant death is better, then such a preservation, or rather treason. Come you therefore speedily to Europus; where assembling our whole forces, we shall effect upon our enemies, what God shall grant no. The Commanders took heart at this letter; and leaving Justus with some to guard Hierapolis, the rest went to Europus. CHAP.

Chofroës third Invafion in An. Doni. 542. & Justiniani 16.

## CHAP. XV.

This is supplied by the Latin Translation.

7 Hen Chofrees heard Belifarius to be at Europus, he march't no further; but fent to him one of his Secretaries, named Abandanes, ( a very difcreet man,) to complaine; that Justinian had not sent his Ambassadors to ratifie the treaty. Of whose coming Belifarius understanding, he chose fix thousand the goodliest of his men, as if he would send them out to hunt. He commanded also Diogenes, one of his Lanciers, and Adolius, the son of Acacius an Armenian (one of those who attend in the Emperours Palace to keep off noise, whom the Romans call Silentarijand now Captaine of the forces in Armenia) to skirt along the shore of Euphrates, with a thousand horse, and at times to make shew to passe the river to invade their countrey. Himself hearing the Ambassador to be at hand, retired to his pavillion, which uses to be made with boards; that he might feeme to the Ambassador, to be in a poore town without provisions. His fouldiers he thus disposed. On the one fide of his pavillion, were the Thracians, and Illyrians; and behind them the Goths; and next the Hernlians; then the Vandales and Moores. They took up much space, not flanding still, but walking at distance, and looking carelelly, and confidently upon the Ambassador. None had his mantle on but linnen coates like women girt about them, and in their hands a Horsemans-whip. For armes some had swords, fome battle axes, others bowes onely; looking like hunters, in all haft, (omitting all ) to be pursueing the wild beafts. Abandanes the Ambassador, coming to Belisarius said, That it was a fonle indignity, that Cesar ( fo the Persians call the Roman Emperour ) had not fent Ambassadors about the Articles, which had constrained his master to enter the Roman territory in armes. Belisarius not searing their great army, and without any trouble in hismind or countenance, smiled, and with a cheerfull look answered him; Men doe not confure the actions of Chosroes by the same reasons he does them by: other men domanding ought of their neighbours, Send Ambassadors first, and of they get not right, then they make warr. But he being in armes in the heart of our provinces, shamelessy now talks of peace. Having thus said, he dismissed the Ambassader. Who coming back to Chefrees, perswaded him to lay down armes, telling him; That he lighted upon a captaine the stoutest, and the wifest in the world, and upon such souldiers as he never beheld the like; whose order be extreamely admired. Then was the match between them unequall; He overcoming, should onely vanquish a slave of Cesars; but being overcome, should get infinit dishonour to him and his house. The Romans also being leaten, may escape into their fortresses, and in their own countrey. But if other then well happen to his army, there will be no me fenger left to report the calamity in Persia. Chofrees upon these reasons, had a mind to goe home, but was troubled knowing the passages of the river to be guarded by the enemy : \* and march the same way againe through a wilderness he could not, the provisions they brought with them failing. In conclusion he thought it best, though with hazarding a battaile, to get to the land on the other fide the river, and fo to march through a plentifull countrey. Belifaring knew well, that not 100000. men could hinder his passage; the river being passable by boats, and his army stronger, then to be barred their way by few enemies. Having also, as I faid, commanded Diogenes and Adolius with a confiderable party to the shore, to amaze the enemy with suddainess, and to put him in disorder: Now he feared, least by frighting him, he might interrupt his quitting the Roman territory; thinking it a matter of much importance, to drive him away, without hazarding with a very small army, heartily affraid of the Persians, against so many thousands. Wherefore he bad Diogenes and Adoline stay. And Chofrees speedily making a bridge, pass'd with his army over the Euphrates. Which was done with ease, the Persians having in their marches, ever ready, great iron hooks, wherewith they fasten long timbers together, and make a bridge suddainly. Being upon the other fide, he fent to tell Belifarin, that he had gratihed the Romans with his retreate, but experted Ambassadors from them immediatly. Belisarius also passed the Euphrates, and sent some to Chofrees, to com-

\* Here the Greek begins againe. mend him for retiring; to promife Ambassadors forthwith from the Emperour, to finish the articles accorded; and to desire him in his passage through the Roman subjects, to use them as friends. Which he promised, so he might have some principals man for hostage of performance of what they undertook. Belisarius hearing what he said, sent him from Edessa John, the son of Bassius, an unwilling hostage; being the chief man in the city for birth and estate. But the Romans much extolled Belisarius, who in this action seemed to gaine more reputation, then when he brought Gelimer and Vitigis prisoners to Constantinople. The truth is, it deserved highly to be valued, when the Romans were terrified, and hid in their fortresses, and Chosroes with a mighty army in the midst of their country, for a Generall coming post from Constantinople, to encamp with a sew in the sace of Chosroes; to stop him; and then, either frighting him with his fortune and valour, or deceaving him with art, to make him in effect run away, and in words desire a peace.

But Chofroes neglected his agreement, and took Callinicum, none being to guard it. Their walls, being decayed, they were ever taking down to rebuild them, and then they had opened a piece, and not made it up. When they heard the enemy to be neer, the richer fort carried out their goods, and retired to other strong places. The residue, with a number of peasants flock't thither, continued in the town without any garrison. These Chofroes made slaves, and laid the town even with the ground. Shortly after he receaved John the hostage, and retired into his country. The Armenians also, who revolted to Chosroes, took assurances from the Romans, and went with Bassases to Constantinople Belisarius also went to Constantinople, sent for by the Emperour,

to be immediatly dispatcht into Italy, where things were very ill.

## CHAP. XVI.

Bout the same time was a Plague, which almost consumed mankind. Of all blowes from heaven, bold and subtile men will talk of a cause, amazing us with reasons, and physiologies above our apprehension; knowing nothing to be found they fay, but contented, if they may perfwade with their cosenages, such as frequent them. But of this to find any other cause is not posfible, but God himself. For it came not upon one part of the world, nor in one scason of the yeare, from whence subtile wits might coyne a cause. But it vexed the whole world, and all conditions of men, though differing often even to contrariety; sparing no constitution, nor age. Mens differing in their places of dwelling, diets, complexions, addictions, or any thing elle in this disease did no good. It took some in the summer, some in the Winter, others at other seasons. So that let Sophisters, and discoursers of Mercors shew their learning; I will onely relate where it began to rage, and in what manner it destroyed. It began among the Egyptians of Polusium, and spread to Alexandria, and the rest of Egypt one way, and the other, to that Paleftine, which borders upon Egypt. From thence it travelled through the world, as by fet journeyes and stages; removing as by appointed giftes; and staying in each countrey a certaine time; and making destruction its onely business; and spreding on both fides to the utmost bounds of the world, as if affraid, least any odd hole of the earth should escape it. It spared neither lland, nor cave, nor top of mountaine, which had men dwelling in it. If it skipt a countrey, by not touching it at all, or but here, and there; yet returning afterward, it struck no more the neighbouring people formerly visited, but from that country it removed not the fore, before it had justly made up the full measure of the dead, according to the lot of their perish neighbours. It began still at the sea-coast, and from thence went to the uplands. In the second years of it, it came to Constantinaple, about the middle of the Spring; where it was my fortune then to relide. And it was in this fort. Apparitions of Spirits in all shapes humane, were feen by many; who thought the man they met, bruck them in some part of the body; and so soon as they saw the Spirit, they were taken

with the disease. At first men meeting such, blessed themselves; repeating the most divine names; and using other ceremonies; but did no good; For many who fled into Churches perisht. Afterwards, they would not heare their friends calling, but lockt up in their chambers, stopt their eares, though the dores were even broken open; fearing the Sprite called on them. Some in their dreames suffred that, which others from those that met them; or heard a voice, that they were enrolled in the appointed to dy. But most without warning by dreames, or waking vitions, fuddainly became feaverish; some newly waking; fome walking; others doing other things. Their body changed not colour, nor was hot, as in a feaver, no inflammation being, but the feaver so remisse in the beginning, and so till evening, that neither the fick, nor the physician feeling his pulse apprehended danger. But to some the same day, to some the next, or many after, there rose a Bubo, not onely in the groyne ( which part is called Bubo) but in the armeholes, under the eare, and in other parts. These things came alike to all; but the fymptomes afterward, I cannot fay, whether the difference of bodies made, or the onely will of him, that fent the fickness. Some had a deep flumbring; others a sharp distraction; both suffering, what was proper to the disease. These slumberers forgot all they were formerly used to; seeming perpetually to sleep. If they were look't to, they would eate sometimes; and some neglected, starved. Those taken with madness, were troubled for want of fleep, and with many apparitions; thinking men affaulted them to kill them, crying out, and running away. Their keepers vexed with endless toyle, were pittied as much as themselves: Not for being insected (for no Physician, nor other, caught the disease by touching sicke or dead bodies; many strangely continuing free, though they buryed, and tended such as were nothing to them; and many catching it, they knew not how, and dying instantly; ) but they pittied their perpetuall toyle; in raising them tumbling upon the ground; and in strugling with them, when they would throw themselves out of windowes. Such as could, leaped into the water, not for thirst, but caused by their phrensies for many leap't into the Sea. Much toyle they had also to get them to eat; and many, for want of keepers, were starved, or brake their necks. Some without flumbring, or madness, had their Bubo gangrened, and they dyed with extreame paine. Which doubtless happened to the rest, but being not themselves, they understood it not; the Phrense taking away their senses. Some Physicians upon these symptomes, conceaving the head of the difease to be in those plague sores, searcht the dead bodyes, and opening the sores, found a huge carbuncle, growing inward. Some died forthwith, some after many dayes. Such, whose bodies were spotted with black pimples, the bigness of a lentile, lived not a day. Many, a voluntary vomiting of bloud seizing, died. This I can say, that many famous Physicians judged some instantly would dye, who unexpectedly grew well; and confidently affirmed the recovery of others, who were vpon the point of death. So that no cause of this sickness was reach't by mans reason; some event happening to all, whereof no reason could be rendred. Some bathing helped, others it hurt; Many dyed for want of cure; and many scaped without it; it proving both wayes to those that used it. In a word no way was found of preservation, neither by preventing the disease, nor mastering it; no cause appearing neither of their falling fick, nor recovering. Women with child taken with it , certainly dyed; some miscarrying; some fairely deliver'd, and perishing with their children. Yet they fay that three women were delivered, who grew well, their children dying; and one dyed, whose child had the happ to live. Such as had their fore great, and running with putrefaction, escaped; the same asswaging the violence of the carbuncle; and this was commonly a certaine figne of health. But whose plague-sore stay'd, as it first rose, such had the miserable accidents, I mentioned. Some had their thigh withered, the fore rifing upon it, and not running. Some escaped with imperfect tongues, and lived stammering, on speaking founds without sence. In Constantinople this sickness lasted foure months, and was three months in extremity, At first few dyed, more then usually. Then it grew hotter; then died five thousand every day, then

10000 and more. In the beginning, men took care to bury each his own dead, casting some into other mens Monuments, either unseen or by force. But in the end all was in consustion: Servants were without Masters; and rich men wanted servants to attend them; being sick or dead; and many houses were empty. So that divers for want of acquaintance lay long unburied. \* The Emperour (as was reason) made it his own care; and committed the oversight to Theodorus, whose office was to subscribe the Emperours answers to Petitions (the Latines call him Referendarius.) To them that wanted, and to the poor multitude, he gave reliefs in mony out of the Treasury. And now in the afflicted City were no trades, nor shops to be seen. Many for fear leaving their bad courses, consecrated themselves to God: and many, when the danger was past, fell to their old despising of God again.

The Greek fails here, and it is supplied from the Latine translation.

#### CHAP. XVII.

But to return to my former discourse. Chofroes marcht Northward to Ar-dabigara, a town in Assiria, purposing from thence to invade the Romans again. Here is a great Pyraum, which the Persians adore above all Gods; where the Magi keep a perpetuall fire, and offer much facrifice, and in their greatest affairs use it for an Oracle; it is the fire which anciently the Romans called Vestall. Here Chosroes had news of two Ambassadors from Censtantinople, about the Peace, Constantianus an Illyrian, and Sergius an Edeffenian, both Orators, and able men. Chofrees expecting their comming, forbare hostility. But Constantianus fell fick upon the way; and the Plague at last came into Persia. But Nabedes, Governour of Perfarmenia, by the Kings command, fent Endulim, Prelate of the Christians there, unto Valerianus, Commander of the forces in Armenia; to complaine of the flownesse of the Ambatsadors; and to exhort the Romans to peace. He came into Armenia with his brother, and told Valerianus, that he heartily affected the Romans, being Christians as himfelf; and would so perswade Chosroes, that the Ambassadors should find no impediment of concluding a peace to their own desire. But the Prelates brother getting privately to Valerianus, told him; That Chosroes in great distresse desired a beace; his sonne conspiring against him; and his army being full of the Plague, Valerianus upon this sent away the Prelate; promising the Ambassadors should shortly come to Chofroes; and the said advertisement he wrote to Justinian. Who thereupon directed him and the Army to invade the Persians; for he saw not that any enemy would oppose them; willing all the forces to joyn, and enter into Perfarmenia. The Captains upon these Letters rode with their troopes into Persarmenia. Chosroes was newly gone from Ardabigara, for fear of the Plague, with his army to a part of Affyria, where the ficknesse was not yet come. Valerianns with his forces encamped at Theodosiopolis, to whom joyned Narses, with some Armenians and Herulians. But Martinus, Generall of the East, with Ildiger and Theostistus, encamped at Citharizum, a Castle four dayes journey from Theodosio polis; whether came Peter shortly after, and Adolins, with some other Captaines; Isaac also, \* brother of Narses was there; and Philemuth; and Verus, with the Herulians under their command, came to Arzanêne, not far from the camp of Martinus. Justus also the Emperours Nephew, and Peranius, and John the fon of Nicetas, with Domentiolus, and John Phagas, encamped at Phison, a Castle near unto Martyropolis. Thus were these Commanders quartered, with their feverall troops; amounting in the whole to thirty thousand. These joyned not, nor communicated; save when the Generals fent to one another to know news of the Persians. Peter upon a sudden motion, without acquainting the rest, invaded the enemies country. And the next day, Philemnth and Perus, with their Herulians followed. Martinus and Valerianus hearing thereof, marcht likewise to the Invasion. Shortly all joyned in the enemies country, fave Instrus, who was quartered far off; but hearing (though late) that his fellow Commanders were entred the enemyes land, he marchtthither also, but could not unite his troopes with theirs.

Anno Domini 543. Justiniani

Here begins the Greek again. Those Generalls marche directly to Dubis; neither forraging, nor otherwise hurting the country. Dubis is a Territory eight dayes journey from Theodosiopolis, of good land, wel scituated for air, and water; being fair champians, full of populous villages close together, and inhabited by Merchants, who traffique with the Indians, and neighbouring Iberians, and with all the Persian Nations, and some Romans. The Bishop of the Christians, the Greeks call Catholicus, who hath the charge of all the country. Some fifteene miles from Dubis to the right hand comming from the Roman Territories, stands a ragged mountain, hardly to be passed, and in a very narrow passage a village called Anglen, where Nabedes hearing of the enemies comming, kept falls confident of the strength of the place. The village is at the furthest end of the mountain; where, upon a steep rock, stands a Castle of the same name. Nabedes fortified the passage to the village with stones, and waggons, and drew a trench before, and lodged his army in the said village; and in old houses without it, layed ambushes of foot. The Persians amounted in all to four thousand men. The Romans came to a place, distant a dayes journey from Anglen, and took a scout of the enemies, who told them, that Nabedes was retired from Anglon. Narses at this chafed, reproaching his fellow Commanders for their tardinesse. The same others did likewise; taunting one another. And now carelesse of fighting, and searlesse of dangers, they attended pillaging onely. They marcht consusedly, without discipline, without watchword (as is usuall in such actions) or distinction by any kind of order. The fouldiers were mingled with the attendants upon the baggage, and marcht as to some great booty ready drest for them. Being near Anglon, they sent out scoutes, who brought them word, that the army was in battail array. The Commanders were amazed with the suddainnesse; yet thought it base and cowardly to turn their backs with fo great an army. So ordering the army as well as in that case they could; they marcht against the enemy. Peter having the right hand Wing, Valerianus the left, and Martinus the battell. Being come near the enemy, they stood still in their ranks confusedly, by reason of the ragged ground, and their being newly put in order. The Barbarians also drew close together, and stood viewing the enemies powers; Nabedes had commanded none to strike the first blow, but the enemy giving on, to refift him. Narses with his Herulians, and some Romans, gave on upon the Persians; and them he routed, who ran away up to the Castle. Much mischief was done between them in the narrow passage; and Narses pressed upon the enemy, and encouraged his men; and the rest fell to work. But suddainly the Ambushes issuing from the old houses, into the narrow lanes, killed some Herulians, and wounded Narses in the head mortally, whom his brother Isaac carried off; but he dyed quickly, having in this fight done bravely. The Romans upon this growing to confusion, Nabedes drew out all his army, which in those narrow lanes shooting at a multitude, killed them at ease, and most the Herulians; being the most part unarmed, and in fight never using headpiece, corslet, or other defensive armour, save a shield, and a thick coat girt about them. Their flaves fight without shields, which their masters permit them to weare, when they have shewed themselves good souldiers. But the Romans not enduring the enemy longer, fled amain, remembring neither valour, shame, nor ought that good is. The Persians suspecting, that they could not fall to so shamelesse a running away, but had some ambushes; drave them out of the fastnesses, and then turn'd bridle, not daring with a few to encounter so many in a plain. But the Romans (specially the Commanders ) thinking the enemy still pursuing, ran without intermission; urging their horses with whip and voice; throwing away their arms in hafte; as having no courage to fight with a Persian over-taking, but all their hope of safety in their horses feet. In a word, it was such a running away, as scarce a horse over-lived it, but instantly dyed, the course ended. So great a disaster the Romans have not formerly had. Many were flain, more made flaves to the enemy, who took so great a quantity of arms and baggage, that the rich state of Persia appeared much richer by this victory. Adolins in this retreat, paffing by a Caftle in Perfarmenia, was slain by a wound in his head of a stone thrown by one of the Inhabitants. Justus and Peranius, having a little plundered the country of Taraunia, returned home.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

But the next year Chofroes invaded the Romans the fourth time, with his army into Mesopotamia. And this expedition he made not against the Emperour Instinian, nor any mortall man indeed, but even against God, whom onely the Christians adore. For in his first Invasion, missing Edessa, and retiring fo; he and his Magi were much discontented to be overcome by the Christians God. Wherefore he threatned to make the Edessenians slaves, and to turn their City to a Sheep-pasture. Being come before Edessa with his army, he fent some Hunnes to the walls over against the Circus to steal the sheep, kept near the walls by shepheards, presuming upon the strength, and steepnesse of the place. But the Barbarians got to the sheep, and the shepheards stoutly refifted; but with the aid of some Persians they got away one flock; which ran back again, while some Romans fallying fought with them: Where a Hunne fighting in the front, and most troubling the Romans, a country fellow hit him with a fling-stone on his right knee, and down he fell headlong; which encouraged the Romans. The fight lasted from morning till noon, and both thinking they had the better; parted, the Romans to their walls, and the Barbarians to pitch their tents a mile from the City, where they encamped. Chofroes, either upon some dream, or the apprehension of disgrace to misse Edissa twice, thought of selling his retreat to the Edessenians for money. Paul the Interpreter therefore the next day, under the town-walls, advised the Romans to fend men of quality to Chofroes. They chose four eminent men; whom Zaberganes met in the camp, by the Kings direction; and with threatning words asked them; which they would rather have, a Peace, or a War. They confessing to chuse peace before dangers: Then must you buy it, quoth Zaberganes, with a great summe. They sayd they would give as much as formerly; when he came thither after the fack of Antioch. Zaberganes laught; and bade them consult seriously for their lives; and come back again. Shortly after Chofroes sent for them, and recited the Roman towns he had led into captivity; threatning to them also the terriblest usage, if they gave him not all their money within their walls; upon which onely he would raise his siege. The Ambassadours acknowledged, that they would buy their peace, if he enjoyned possibilites. But the conclusion of a danger, they faid, no living man could know before the combat; war being not upon articles of agreement between the parties. Upon this Chofrees commanded them in anger to get them

The eighth day of the Siege, he beganne to raise a mount against the walls, making, without arrow-shot, a square work of trees cut down with leaves on, spreading over them much earth, and over all, a quantity of rude unwrought stones (his onely care being to raise the Mount speedily) putting between the earth and stones long timbers, which fastned the work, that growing high, it should not be weak. But Peter the Roman Generall being in the town, with Martinus and Peranius, sent out Hunnes against the workmen, who falling on suddainly, killed many. One of his Lanciers, named Arger, killed above seven and twenty. But the Barbarians kept better guard afterward, and none sallyed on the workmen. Who being come within arrow-shot, the Romans from the walls stoutly employed their slings and bows. Before their labourers in this Aggestus (so is it called in Latine) the Barbarians hung upon long poles hair-cloths of Goats hair, thick and long, that no stery darts nor arrows could pierce through, but there fell dead. Then the Romans affraid, sent Ambassadours to Chosroes, and with them Stephanus a famous Physitian, who had cured King Cabades of a disease, and got a great estate by him. He with the rest

Chofroës 4th. Invafion in An. Dom. 544. & Justiniani 18.

coming to Chofroes, spake thus. Men have ever held humanity the marke of a good King. So that, mighty Sir! if you kill and lead into captivity, you may perchance obtaine some other titles, but shall never be thought a good man, And of all cities, Edessa should least have a misfortune from you; Where I was borne; who not foreseeing what would come to passe, fostered you; and by counselling your father to appoint you his successor, have been to you a 'principall cause of the Empire of Persia, and to my country of these miseries.
'Thus men are themselves the authors of most of their own missfortunes. But ' if you have any remembrance of this service, you will doe us no more hurt; bestowing this retribution on me; by which, O King! you will have the fortune not to be esteemed a most cruell man. But Chofrees professed not to rife from thence, till the Romans delivered him Peter, and Peranim his fathers flaves, prefuming to beare armes against him. If they refused this, they must either pay \* five hundred Cemenaries of gold, or admit his ministers to search the city, and to bring him all the gold and filver within it, and upon this they might keep the rest of their goods. This Chofroes spake at randome, expecting with ease to take the city. And the Ambassadors finding his propositions impossible, returned much troubled; And reporting the demands, filled the city with noise and lamentations,

4 1575000.1'. fterl.

#### CHAP. XIX.

But the mount rose to a great height, and went on apace. The Romans in perplexity, sent againe Ambassadors; who were sutors for the same things, but were not regarded, but driven out of the Persian camp, with scorn & houting. Then they began to raise their walls higher, toward the mount; But the Persians worke farr overtopping that also, they gave it over; And defired Martinus to procure a capitulation, as he would himself. He got as neer as he could to the camp, and spake with some Persian commanders; who to amuse him faid, Their King defired peace, but could not persuade the Emperour to leave quarrelling. He could not deny Belifarius to be above Martinus in power, and place; who persuaded the King to retire from the midst of the Roman Provinces, with promises of Ambassadors to perfect the Treatie of peace; but he could not performe, being not able to force the Emperours will. In the mean time the Romans drew a mine to the enemies work; and commanded not to leave working, till they were under the middle of the Mount. Where being, the Persians above heard the noise; and finding what they did, cross-mined on both sides, to catch them in the middle. They perceaving it, stopt up their mine there with earth; and from underneath the part of the Mount next the town, carryed out the timber, stones, and earth, and made a little hollow roome; where they laid dry loggs fleep't in Cedar oyle, and Affrian pitch. During this preparation the Perfian commanders in many meetings with Martinus discoursed to the effect aforefaid, seeming to entertaine a parley for Peace. But their mount being brought to perfection, and raised farr above the walls, they sent away Martinus; refuling any composition; and fell to work. \* The Romans then set the dry loggs a fire: which burnt part of the Mount; but not spreading to the whole, and being burnt out, they brought more into the hollow roome. Then appeared the smoake from the Mount at night: and the Romans to prevent the discovery, shot small vessells filled with burning coales, and fire darts, thick over the mount: and the Persians thinking the smoake came from them, ran to quench them. But the fire prevailed, and the Barbarians pittifully crying, were shot and killed from the walls. At Sun-rifing, Chofroes came with some of his army; went upon the Mount; and first found the mischief, shewing, how the smoake came not from that darted from the enemy, but from fire below; and he willed the army to shout. The Romans grew confident, and flouted them: They all cast on, some earth, others water, which abated the smoake there, but presently it burst out in another part more vehemently; The water also added force to the fulfur, and Affrian pitch, and spread the fire more; and within, the fire prevailed

\* Here againe the Latin tranflation fills up a great gap.

prevailed above the water; and about evening the fmoke was fo high, that it was feen at Carre, and other neighbouring parts. There were fights alto upon the Mount, wherein the Romans overcame. And now the flame rose cleerly; when the Persians abandoned the work. Six dayes after they affaulted something before day-light, ( the Romans being dead afteep): And they fer to their ladders, and were mounting: But a peafant awaking, called up the Romans. They fought; and the Persians were beaten to their camp; leaving their ladders, which the Romans drew up. About midnight Chofroes fent a great part of his army to force the great Gate. The Romans (not onely Souldiers, but peafants and people) flood them, had the better, and routed them. As they were running, Paul the Interpreter put himself among the Romans, and told them, that Recimer was newly come from Constantinople an Ambassador about peace. So they parted. Recimer came to the Barbarians camp some dayes before; which they concealed from the Remans; expecting the event of their works; if those prosper'd, they resolved to come to no treatie; if they were beaten (as they now are ) they might come to it fairely; the Romans having invited them. When Recimer was neer the city gate, the Persians demanded fome to be fent out to treat an accord with Chofroes. They answered, they would within three dayes fend Martinu, who now was ficke. Chofroes suspe-Ging the answer not to be fincere, prepared for warr; commanding store of bricks to be laid upon the Mount. Two dayes after he approached the walls with his whole army, and applyed his ladders and engines; and begirt the town; placing squadrons at every gate, & Saracens behind them; who when the town was taken, were to lay hold on run-awayes. The fight began in the morning, and at first the Persians had the better; being many against few; for the Romans were not aware of the affault. The fight proceeding, the city was full of tumult; the women and little children went to the walls; and the men refifted valiantly; Many peafants did bravely. The women and children with the old men brought flones to the combatants. Some threw down boyling oyle. Then the Persians refused to fight any longer; telling the King plainely, they would not give on: Chofrees in a rage, threatning and urging them, brought them all on. And againe with thouts they applied their ladders, and engines, as if they would instantly enter. But the Romans defending in great numbers, the enemy fledd; and the Romans hiss't at Chofrees; daring him to the affault. Onely Azarethes with his troupes continued fighting about the gate of Soena; and from a place called Tripugia, the valiantest of the Romans sallied. Other Persians assaulting an outwork, prest hard upon the defendants, till Peranius with many fouldiers, and some Edefenians, having routed Azarethes, rode up to these. So that Chofroes beginning the affault in the morning, gave it over late at night : Both passed the night unquietly; the Persians affraid of their trenches; the Romans providing stones and other things against another affault the next morning; when the Barbarians came not on. But the day after , a part of the army animated by Chofroes fet upon the gate of Barlaim; but were beaten back to their camp. Then Paul the Interpreter called up to the walls for Martinus, to treat an accord. Which he did; and Chofroes receaving \* 50000. gold Staters from the Edeffenians, fubscribed the articles; promising no more to infest the Romans. In conclusion, setting his palissadoes and others works on fire, he went home with his army.

About this time died two Roman commanders, Justus, Justinians nephew, and Peranius the Iberian; the first by sickness the other by a fall from his horse in hunting. In whose roomes the Emperour placed Marcellus, his sisters sonne, a youth, and Constantianus, afterward Ambassador to Chosroes about the treatie. These had audience in Assyria, where stand Selencia, and Ctessphon, faire cities, built by the Macedonians, who after Alexander the great raigned in Persia. Of which cities the Tigru bounds their territories; no other countrey being between them. Here finding the King, they demanded restitution of the places in Lazica, and ratissication of the articles of peace. But Chosroes said, that a peace would hardly be, without a truce first for a time, during which by mutuall concourse, and communication, they might more firmely determine the

Perpetuall

\* 39062. 1'. 10. s'. flerl. The Quinquennial Cessation, An. Just in. 19. Anno Domini 545. Perpetuall Peace, and that the Romans to get it must give him money; and they must send him one Tribunus, with whom by a day certain he would conclude the businesse. This Tribunus, a Physician, had cured Chosroes of a great sicknesse, for which he was his friend, and very gratefull. Justinian forthwith sent him Tribunus; and of the money twenty thousand Staters. And so a Truce was concluded for five years, in the nineteenth year of Justinians reigne.

Shortly after Alamundarus and Arethas had a war, without any ayds of Perlians or Romans on either fide. Alamundarus in an Inroade took a son of Arethas prisoner, and sacrificed him to Venus. From him was discovered, how Arethas sold the affairs of the Romans to the Persians. Afterward they came to a battell with their whole forces, wherein Arethas got the better, and routed the enemy, and killed many. A while after he had the pursuit of two sons

of Alamundarus, but could not take them.

#### CHAP. XX.

Here the Greek continues.

But in Lazica, Chofrees had a design to kill Gubazes their King, \* and to transplant the Nation into some other part of his dominions, and to plant Persians in their room: For he thought it a matter of much importance, firmly to possesse Lazica, being of manifold use to the Persians: First, by holding more fecurely the Iberians, who would have none to fly to in case of revolt: For the principall Iberians with their King Gurgenes revolting (as I faid betore) the Persians suffered not the nation to chuse their King any more; neither were they willing subjects to the Persians, but both were suspicious of each other; and the Iberians discontented, and ready to stir upon fit opportunity. He confidered also, that not onely the Persian dominions would hereby be for ever free from the devastation of the Humnes bordering upon Lazica; but that himself, having a mind, might send them against the Romans; there being no rampire against the Barbarians of Mount Cancasus, but only Lazica. But principally Lazica would advantage the Persians, by iffuing from thence to infest by land and sea the places upon the Euxine sea, to subdue Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and to surprise Constantinople, there being none to stop their course. Upon these considerations Chofroes would have Lazies, but could not be confident in the Nation. For after the Romans were retired from thence, the common people were discontented at the Persians Government, who of all men have least variety in their humours, their manner of life being extreamly strict; their laws hard of disgestion, and their commands intollerable. And in reference to the Lazians the difference infinitely appeared, both in Religion and conversation; the Lazsans being Christians, none more; and the Persians quite contrary. Besides, no Salt being in Lazica, nor Wine, nor other native commodity; all is imported from the sea coasts of the Romans; not giving money to the Merchants, but skins, and slaves, and other things with them abounding. From which being now barred, they were difcontented. And Chofroes perceiving it, consulted upon some safe prevention, before they thould stirre for an alteration; and thought it most expedient to rid away Gubazes their King, and to transport the Nation, and to plant Perfians and others in their country.

He sent also to Constantinople Isdigunas, under pretext of an Ambassage, and with him five hundred chosen Persians, directing them to get into Daras, and lodging in severall houses to set them afire, and while the Romans were busie to quench the fire, to open the gates, and receive in the rest of the Persian army; the Governour of Nisibis being commanded to be in readynesse with sorces concealed thereabout. Thus Choseos thought without labour to have the killing of the Romans in Daras, and to be master of the City. But a Roman sugitive in Persia having knowledge of it, went to Daras, and there revealed it to George; who formerly perswaded the Persians besieged in Sisteranum to yeeld to the Romans. George went out to meet the Ambassador, and told him,

thi

this was not like not Ambassage; and that Persums in so great numbers use not to lodge in Roman Cities; he should do well to leave the rest in a town called Amudis, and with a sew in his company to enter Daras. Is digunas chassed, and took this for a great affront, being an Ambassadour sent to the Emperour. But George, without respect to his storming, preserved the City to the Romans; receiving him in, with onely twenty of his train. He failing in his plot, went to Constantinople, with his Wise and two Daughters, the pretence of his extraordinary company. Where having accesse to the Emperour, of businesse great or small he had nothing to say, though he had been six moneths in the Roman dominions; but he delivered usuall presents to the Emperour, and letters, to know if he were in good health. This Is sugarnas sustained with the most grace and honour that we ever saw him use to any Ambassadour; féasting him, and Bradmeionas his Interpreter; and setting them upon the same couch with himself, a thing never done before. No man ever saw an Interpreter sit at table with the meanest Governour, much lesse the Emperour, And this Ambassadour without businesse, he entertained, and dimissed more honourably than ever any. His charges and presents came to more than ten Centenaries of gold.

31500 1. ferl.

#### CHAP. XXI.

But into Lazica Chofroes first fent much ship-timber, giving out it was for bengines to stand upon the walls of Petra. Then he fent Fabrizas, with three hundred chosen Persians, instructing him, closely to kill Gubazes, and of the fequele he would take care. The timbers in Lazica were all confumed by lightening. But Fabrizus being there, and practifing to execute his instructions concerning Gubaxes, fent for a Nobleman of the country, named Pharfanfes, ( whom he understood to be in diffrace with Gubazes for some offence, not daring to come in his fight) and to him revealed the matter, and advised with him how to attempt it. The conclusion was, that Fabrizus should goe to Petra, and fend for Gubazes, to acquaint him with the great Kings resolution rouching Lazica. But Pharfanfes fecretly discovered the plot to Gubazes. Who thereupon refused to come to Fabrizus, and prepared for an open revolt. Fabricus committed the guard of Petra to the other Persians, to prepare all things fafe against a fiege; and so went home, having done nothing. Gubazes reported to Justinian the present estate, belought his pardon for things paft, and his prefent ayd to shake off the Persian Government. The Emperour was glad of the news, and fent him feven thousand men, commanded by Dagisthaus, and a thousand Tzanians. Who joyned with Gubazes and the natives, and befreged Petra. The Perfians within defended it valiantly, and much time was spent in the flege; they having laid in store of victuall in the town. Chofrees was troubled at it, and fent against them a great army of horse and foot, under the command of Mermeroes. Whereof Gubazes being advertised, and upon advise with Dagisthaus, did thus. The River of Boas springs near the confines of Tzanica, about Tharangium in Armenia. First it runnesa good way to the Northward, and is small and fordable, till it comes where it hath the Marches of Iberia to the North, and the utmost ridge of Mount Cancasus to the South. Hereabout inhabit the Alans, and the Abasgians, in antient amitie with the Romans, and they are Christians; the Zecchians also, and Sabirian Hunnes. From the Marches of Iberia and Caucasias, this River is supplyed with other waters, grows greater, and instead of Boas is called Phasis; is navigable, and disembogues into the Enxine sea. On both fides of it is Lazica. To the right hand the country is well inhabited, to the borders of Iberia; on that fide the river are their villages, and some small cities, antiently built, as Archeopolis, a strong place; Sebastopolis, and the Castle of Pityuntium; and towards Iberia, Scanda, and Sarapanis. Other firong Cities there are, as Rhodopolis, and Muchrifiis. But to the Southward are the Marches of Lazica for a dayes journey, a country uninhabited; upon

which border the Ponticke Romans. In the desert marches of Lazisa Instinian built Petra in my time, where, (as I said) John Tzibus set up the monopoly, which caused the Lazians desection. From Petra Southward the Roman borders begin; where are populous towns, as Rhizaum, Athens, and others unto Trapezond. The Lazians, when they brought Chosroes into the countrey, past the Bons, and came to Petra; leaving Phasis (then so called) to his right hand; pretending to avoyd the delay and toyle of terrying over the river Phasis; but in truth not willing to shew the Persians their dwellings. And Lazica on both sides the river is full of bad wayes, having rocks on either side the countrey, which make long narrow glinnes. (The Romans, as the Grecians, call such wayes, Clausura.) But then, Lazica being unguarded, the Persians guided by the

natives, came with ease to Petra.

But now Gubazer being informed of the Persians coming, wrote to Dagisthem to fend forces to guard the paffage beyond the Phasis, and not to raise the siege, before Petra were taken. Himself with his own army march't to the utmost borders of Lazica, to guard the Passage there. He had sometime before gotten some troopes of Alans, and Sabirians; who agreed for three Centenaries, to help to guard his countrey, and so depopulate Iberia, that the Persians should not be able to come in that way; and the money the Emperor was to pay: whom Gubazes praid to fend the same, and some Donative to the Lazians, now in much distress; alledging himself also to be behind for ten yeares, being enrolled a Silentiary of the Imperiall Palace, and having receaved no pay from the time Chofroes entred Lazica. Justinian meant to performe his request, but greater business diverting him, he sent not the money in the due time. But Dagisthem, being a young man, and unable to manage a Persian warr, made no advantage of the opportunities offered him: Whereas he should have fent to the Passage the most of his army, and been himself at the action, he fent, as to some flight bufiness, onely two hundred men. And he did nothing upon Petra with all his forces: The enemy within, at first were not 1500. men, who continually being shot, and slaine at the affaults; after as much valour, as ever men shewed, were reduced to a very few; and dispairing, and unable, lay still. The Romans drew a mine under the wall; and the wall falling with a house joyning to it, fell all into the Ruine, fecuring the town as much as the wall. This troubled not the Romans, who faw hope, by mining in another part, to take the town: and Dagiftham wrote of it to the Emperour; urging for rewards of victory, and appointing what he and his brother should have; for they would take Petra presently. But the Persians receaved the assaults bravely, and beyong expectation; their troopes being much decayed. Wherein the Romans prevailing not, they mined againe, and came on with their work so, that the foundation of the wall had no ground to beare it, and the wall was in the aire, suddainly to fall. And if Dagisthams had presently put fire to the supporters, the town had been taken. But he with his hopes from the Emperour, dallying, did nothing.

#### CHAP. XXII.

In the meane time Mermeroes with a Persian army past the marches of Iberia, and avoyding the townes of Lazica, for seare of stopp, kept the Phasis to his right hand; his care being to save Peira, and the Persians in it. Where the piece of the wall which tottered, as I said, sell suddainely; at which fifty Romans entred, and cryed out aloud, The Vistorious Emperour Justinian. They were led by John, a young Armenian, son of that Thomas sintende Guzes, who by the Emperours direction built many fortresses in Lazica, commanding the army there, and well esteemed by the Emperour. This John the Persians encountred, and so he retired, wanting seconds. Then Mirranes, commander of the garrison, willed the Persians to attend their guards, and went (being afraid of the towne) to Dagishaus; gave him faire words; promised to render the town shortly, and so amused him, that he did not, as he should have

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done, presently march into the town. In the meane time Mermeroes was encountred at the Passage by the two hundred Romans: who valiantly kept off the assailants. But the Pensans perfisting, and being still supplied with new men for these staine (having lost more then 1000.) The Romans weary with killing, and overpress with numbers, ran up to the mountaines. Dayisham hereof advertised, presently raised the siege, and without giving any direction to the army, away he gallopt towards the Phasis, and all the Romans followed, leaving their baggage in the camp. Which the Persans seeing, sallyed, fell among their Cabbins, and were risling the camp. But the Tzanians, who followed not Dagisthams, came to the rescue; routed the enemy (who ran into the town, after the losse of many) and ransack the Roman camp themselves; Then went to Rhizaums, and from thence home by Athens, and Trapezond.

The ninth day after Dagisthaus his retreat, Mermeroes with his army came thither: where he tound remaining of the Persian Garrison 350. men, whereof 150 found the rest wounded and unserviceable. The dead bodies the survivors never threw from the walls, but endured almost stifling with the stench; that the enemy, feing so many loft, might not be the more encouraged to affaulti Mermerges faid Coffingly, that the Romans affaires were to be lamented, being tallen into to weak a condicion, as not to be able with all their endeavour to torce 150. Persians, that had no walls to defend them. But the walls he carefully repaired, and wanting lime and other materialls, he filled with fand the linnen wallets, wherein the Rersians brought their provisions, and faid them insteed of stones; and this served for walling. In the town he left 3000 chosen men, with a proportion of victuall for no long time, and direction to repaire the walls. Himself with the rest of his army returned homeward; And because if he marche the same way he came the would find no provisions, had ving left what he brought but of Iberia in Petra; he went over the mountains, which , he heard , were inhabited ; diar by forraging he might hake his army live. But one Fubelist, anoble man of Luxica, conducting Degisthers, and 1000. Romans, surprized the Persons where they lodged; and having stolne Come horses at pasture, and killed some who keputhem; retired; and Mermeroes role from thence. But Gibazes not affrighted with what happened to the Romans, quitted not the Passage on his fide, supposing there to be the maine of his hopes. For though the Persians forced through the Passage beyond the Phafis, and got to Petra; yet he could not incommode Lazica, being not able to cross the Phasis without shipps; the river is so deep and broad, and so swift, that it enters the Sea a good way unmingled with falt water, & out of it passengers take in fresh water: And with shipps, the many Fortresses on this side, will make an enemies landing unsafe. Justinian also at last sent the monyes for the Sabirians, and other for Gubazes, and the Lazians. Long before he had fett a good army thither commanded by Recithangus the Thracian, a wife man, and a good fouldier; but it was not yet arrived. Mermeroes having gotten to the mountaines, would have provided victuall for Petra, knowing, that that he had left, would not serve a Garrison of 3000. men. But what he could light on in the country, hardly sufficing his own army of 30000, he could fend nothing to Petra worth the speaking. So he resolved with the most of his army to quit Dezer, and leave some few, who of the provisions they could get, were to transport most to Petra, and to live upon the rest. And so 5000. chosen men he left with Fabrizus, and three other commanders. He thought a greater army not needfull; there being no enemies. With the refidue he went into Perfarmenia, and lay quiet in the townes of Dubis. The 5000, upon the furthest confines of Lazica, encamped by the river Phasis, stragling to plunder thereabout; Gubazes observing it, sent to Dagistheus to come up to him, as having it in his power to doe the enemy a notable mischief. He did so, marching with the river Phasis to his left hand, till he came where on the other side encamped the Lazians, and where the river was fordable. This neither the Romans, nor Persians knew (not knowing the countrey) but the Lazians knew it, and there passed the river, and joyned with the Romans. The Persians sent out 1000 chosen men to prevent an enemies infesting their camp: And two of these advancing

advancing to discover, fell into the enemies hands, and discovered all to them. So the Romans suddainely set upon the 1000, men, of whom none escaped, but were most slaine, and the rest taken. Gubares learnt the number of the Persian army, how farr off they were, and in what estate. They march't therefore towards them, computing to fall on them farr within the night. They were in number fourteen thousand. The Persians, without thought of an enemy, slept securely. They thought the river not fordable, and their 1000, men farr upon their way, without encountring any. So that the Romans unexpected charging them after midnight, found some asserting, some newly awake, and naked upon their pallets; not a man with a thought of sighting; But most of them thus surprized were slaine. Some they tooke, among whom a principall commander. Some sew escaped in the darke. The camp the Romans and Laxians took, with all their Ensignes; and had the booty of much armes, and goods, and of Horses and Mules a great number. They followed the execution farr into Iberia; where lighting upon other Persian troopes, they killed many. The Romans and Laxians also found there a quantity of meale and other provision, and burnt it; which the Persians were conducting out of Iberia to Petra. So they left at the Passage some numbers of Lazians, that no provisions to Petra might passe that way; and then returned with all their booty and captives. And thus ended the fourth yeare of the Persian affaires, being the three and twentieth of sustinian's raigne.

Anno Dom.
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was the fourth
yeare of the
truce, where Agathias begins.

The yeare before, John the Cappadosian was sent for by the Emperour to Confiantimple; for the Empress Theodora died in that yeare. Yet could be not recover any of his offices. The honour of Priesthood he held against his will. He had also apparitions promising the Empire. For the Devilluses to display before unsetled judgements, with some great hopes, that which they naturally love: and so was this John deluded by some Juglers; who told him he should weare the habit of Angustus. And in Constantinople was a Priest, who kept the treasures of the Church of S. Sophia, named

who kept the treasures of the Church of S. Sophia, named
Angustin. When John was shorne a Priest (having himself no garment sit,) they, who were employed
in it, made him put on the Cope and
Rochet of this Angustin; And
so, I think, the prediction
was fulfilled.

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nines, it was property and vidential transfer.

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## ms. How Then I. King at 1 Xing A H 3 in, afed the Ambaffalors of Solimer, who know nothing of the raine of the Ven late.

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#### for their Hallower of printel X feed Kell Same, accord no 10 callon.

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### of A recopied while the CHAPA XII. also bedoon to to

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## IVSTINIAN:

BOOK I.

Of the War with the Vandals.

#### CHAP. I.



His end had the Emperour Justinian of the Persian war. And now I come to his actions against the Vandals and Moors: First shewing from whence those Vandals brake in upon the Roman Provinces. After the death of Theodosius, a most just Prince, and a great Souldier, his two Sons succeeded, Arcadius the elder in the Bastern Empire, and Honorius in the West. This Division was formerly made by Constantine and his sons, who first transfer d

the Empire to Constantinople, which City he much enlarged, and dignified, and called it by his own name. And the Emperours divided the two Continents between them, thus. The Ocean encompasses the whole earth, or the most part of it, (we know no certainty therein) But into this part comes an Inlet from the Western Ocean, dividing the two Continents, and making our Seas; which begin from Caliz, and reach to the lake of Maoris. The land to the Southward thereof from that pillar of Hercules which is named Septem (by reason of the seven hillocks) there appearing) is called Asia, and that over against it Europe: And the Strait

which parts these Continents, is ten miles and a half over; which then continue

parted by main seas to the Hellespont; and there they meet at Sessim and Abydm, and again at Constantinople and Chalcedon, to the anciently saimed Chalcedon to the which they call Hieron. At both these last Series, the Lands are a mile and a half distant. From one of Hertules pillars to the other, along the share, not compassing the Jonian gulf, not Eurine sea, but crossing from Chalcedon to Constantinople, and from Otranto to the Land over against it, as a wave journey. To teck on exactly from Constantinople to the Lake of the share should be Eurine sea, is impossible; the Barbarians beyond the River of haking the Coasts unaccessible to Romans. But to the River of the strength is twenty to dayes journed and the first street hundred forty seven dayes journy; crossing the Ionian gulf from Otranto (as I have said) which is an hundred miles over, and the compass of the gulf is four dayes journy: So great anciently was the Roman Empire. The Emperour of the West had Africk under him, which contains money dayes journy from Calle to Tripolis: And in Enrose his share was from the other Hercules pillar to the Ionian gulf, 75 dayes journy: To which must be added the compass of the said gulf. But the Emperour of the East had for his share 120 dayes journy from Cyrene in Africk to Epidamnus upon the Ionian gulf, now called Durazzo; besides the Roman Provinces upon the Enrise Sea, as I have said. A dayes journy contains 120 farlongs, (which are 25 En sist miles) the distance from Athens to Megara. Of the Ilanda Distany, by much the greatest, sell to the Western Empire, being without Hercules pillars: And within them, Ebusa, and Majorica, and Minorica, lying above seven tryes journy from that Inlet of the Ocean. The other Ilands upon the Mediserranean belong to each Emperour, as they are situate in the limits of eithers.

\*Leander Jays,
That from Otranto to Venice is 700.
miles, and that
is but half of
the Gulf. My
conceit is, that
the Author
wrote 54. days
journey, which
is twice 700.
milei.

## CHAP III

But Honorine holding the Western Empire, the Barbarians invaded his Country: Who they were, and in what manner, I will tell you. Heretofore were many Gothick Nations, and now are; but the greatest, and most famous of them are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepades. Anciently they were called Sarmatians, and Melanoblemens, Some called these Gesick Nations. They vary all in names, but in nothing else; being all fair-bodied, with yellow hair; tall, and with good faces: They have the fame lawes, customes, and religion (being all Arrians) and speak all the Gorbick language. I suppose them to have been anciently one Nation, and their names to have been distinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly this people inhabited about the river Danubins; then the Genedes held the places about Singedon and Sirmium, on both fides the River where dow they are. From thence the Vifigoths role first, and came to the aid of Attradists hat some time after, ( For Berturians cannot mure themselves to keep faith with Romani) these Vificoths under their Prince Mariem rebelled against both the Emperous: They begue in Thrace, and thence overran all Europe. Honorisis at first fate still in Roste, thinking of no enemy, but contented to be suffered quiet in his palace; but hearing how the enemy was not far off, but already in Timbaneia with a mighty Army, he fled from his Palace to Ravenna, a ftrong City lying upon the bottom of the Ionian gulf. Some fay (but improbably, by what I can gather by his disposition) that upon some matiny by his subjects he drew in the Barbariane : But they finding no enemy oppoling exceeded all that ever were in cruelty, fo destroying the Cities they took, especially on this fide the Ionian gulf, that the phave no mark now remaining fave some curret or gate, killing also all in their way, old and young, not sparing women nor children, so that Italy remains to this day extreamly unpeopled. They robbed all the wealth of Europe; and having for their mafter-piece left nothing in Rome, publike nor private, they marched into France. CHAP.

That is, all Italy on this fide Otranto, in respect of Confrancinople: which must diligently be observed in this Author, when he says, On this fide

#### in Theree given the nebe the Emperona, where he agross the mouth time, whe Conquered Italy her of thathirty of Oxides.

The Carlo who noted over the river Danding held Paranta; then Town

An. Dom. 412. & Honorii 15.

He taking of Rome by Alaricus, was thus. Having spent much time in the Siege, and not taking it by force, nor other means; he chose out 300 beardless Youths, whom he knew well bred, and valorous above their years : These he told fecretly, that he would colourably present them for Slaves to some Roman Patricians and he charged them, being in their houses to shew all mildness and sobrietys and to serve their masters cheerfully in all their injunctions; but at a day appointed, after nobn, while their mafters were fleeping after their dinners, to meet all at Porta Salaria, fuddenly to kill the Guards, and to open the gate, Alariem having thus instructed the young men, fent Ambassadors to the Senate to tell them, "That he admired their good affection to their Emperour, and "would trouble them now no more, feeing manifeltly their fingular valour and "fidelity ... But to have remembrances remaining with fuch worthy men he defired to prefent them with some few Servants. Soon after, he fent the young men. and commanded the Barbarians to truis up their baggage for a settent, that the Romans might perceive it ai The Senators gladly entertained this discourse, and the Prefents, and lived merrily, and suspected no design, seeing the young mens obedience, and in the Camp tome gone already, fome bulie to rife, the rest expected to do the like immediately. At the hour affigued, Alarican put his Army in order by Porta Sataria, as if to march away, (being there quartered at first.) The young men then also killed the Guards at the faid gate; and fet them open receiving in Alaricus appleasure. The houses next the Gate they huros and od mong them that of Suinft who wrote the Randon Histornal whereaf the remains half-burns flood to my time: Then they fack the City, flew most of the Romans init, and went away. Then they fay that the Bunnet of Honories then being at Ravenna, who kept his Corks of the game, toldhigh the baws how Rome was lost; the cryed out, Why! even now he cat from mine monthands, (He had an extraordinary great Cock named Rome ) The Etinuch understanding him, told him, that the City Rome was loft by Alaricas . The Emperour roufing himself replied; I thought, my friend, it had been my Cock Rome. So simple, they say, was than Emperour. Some fay that Alarkem took not Rome thus : But that Proba a Roman Lady eminent for wealth and hondur, pictying the people perishing with mileries, and for famine eating one another, and feeing no hope of better, (the River and Port being blockld up by the Enemy ) directed her fervants in the night to open the gates. Alar low at his parting from kome, declared Attalm, one of the Nobility, Emperous, putting on him the Diatem and Purple robe, and all other enfigures of the Imperial dignity that by this he might depose Honorins, and give Arralus the Western Empire. But Arralus had neither wit himself, nor could follow good counfel; fending into Africk, without adaricus's content, Cover-Britany then revolted from the Romans, and the Souldiers chafe Confianting nours without an Army.

their Emperour, an eminent man, who with a Flort land a good basing invaded Spain and Gaule. Honorius with thips in readine is expected the fuces from Africks to fail thither upon the rejection of those sent from Anding and to to total forms part of the Empire; infrotherwise, rougo so. Theodofine (whio being very young, held the Empire after his father Arcadim wand to continue with bird alber Auctuating in the suncertainties and cares, he had a miraculous bleffing, (God utially assist ing men not subtile to devile for themselves, so they we not wicked he for same Africk came fudden news that Armbuls Governous were flain; and unexpectedly came to him a great Navy from Constantinople withon Army to his aid ! Alarism alfo offended, took from Metalus the Imperial habit and made him a personer, an himself soon after died ; and the Armyof Vifiguehi were by Adalphie ded against Gaules Conftantine allowas overthrownin battely land offain with his fons. But Britany the Romans could never recovery continuing ever fince under their own

him for each of the three to have a third parcof Africk; and if any one content

He ever calls the Oftrogoths, only Goths.

An. D. .. 412.

The Goths who passed over the river Danubius first held Fannonia; then Towns in Thrace given them by the Emperour; where having not spent much time, they Conquered Italy. But of that in my discourse of the Goths.

## We taking of home by only none, was the Maying speak much time in the street, and not taking it ny offe, and the cashs: he chole out 300 beards outle, which he knew well bred, and value outsabove new years. The spine secretly what he would colourably proceed them for blaves to some Raman.

De the Mandales inhabiting about the Lake of Motors, apon a great famin, De wint to the Germany, now called Franks, and to the tiven of Rhine, affect ating the Mine; and planted in Spain. And Honories came to conditions with Godinisting, to continue there without infesting the Province. And whereas there is a Reman Lawy That menous of possessing the province. And whereas there is a Reman Lawy That menous of possessing the province. And whereas there is a Reman Lawy That menous of possessing the space of thirty years, common enter the same; but besides are by prescription barned their action in Court love the same; but besides are by prescription in this estate. Honories left least, and died. With him Confianting was Emperour, who married his lister Placidia; but died before Honories; having had in his small time in the Empire no means to act any thing, his son Valentinian from his muste was brought to the Parale of Theiristing, and there bred. But the Courtiers in Rome chose Emperour one of the Souldiers named John; a mild and a prudent man, and valiant. He is killing not consider manied John; a mild and a prudent man, the could do nothing, by reason the Constitute was his enemy. Theorem, the son of Arcadom, see an Army against him under soften and Armsburius his son, and deposed him; giving the Empire to Valentinian, yet a child, who took John, cuttoff one of his lander brough with into the Civeties of Aquillia upon an also and when he had collected news see and indignity from the Stage, there put him to death.

Filesismen being this Emperer of the Walt, his mother Residia bed him offeminately, that he became vicious from a child; he frequented Comjurers and Sear gazers, made love to other ment wives, and was extreamly debaucht though he had a wife most beautifull : So that he was to far from recovering the lost pleces of the Bripire, that he added the loss of Affrick; and ruined himself; and after his death his wife and children had the fortune to be captives. The dilafter in Africk Hasned thus: The two Roman Generals, Acrise and Benifacine, both validate and expert Soldiers, interiour to none of their time, ever were at difference ill the publique affairs; being men fo high in worth and spirit, that he shall not ers, who eals them the last of the Romans of All the Roman virtue and valour was for reduced into these ewo. Benifacion Placidia made General of Africk, which diffileafed Arrive, but he concealed his dillike (their enmity being covered yet under a fair vifout) but Bonifician once out of the way, the accused him of Tyranny, and a defire to deprive her and the Emperour of Africk; and that the might easily find the truth of (for if the fent for Bonifacine he would not come.) She fixed the advice, and did for But Acome wrote privately to him before, that the Emperodes mother had a plot upon him, to be rid of him; for proof whereof he forewarted him how he should be prefently fent for upon no ground. Binifacine hot thinking light of the advice, and being fummoned to go to the Emperour, refused concealing the advertisement he had from dering Upon this, filled about Denifacine : Who anable to withfland the Emperour , and to go to I which holding it not lafe y advised by what means he might make a league with the Vandales, who, as I faid, were feated in Spinis, not far from Africk. Godidifchis was dead, but Gombard his beginning fon, and Gasterick his bale fon fucceed-ell in his Dominions; the first whereby was a boy, not much active; but Genfe-Het very well exercised in Military affairs y and the threwdeft man alive. Bomfathis fem to pass cortiefe fore of Godiais charp to invite them to equal terms with him, for each of the three to have a third part of Africk; and if any one of them

be invaded, the rest to defend him. Upon this accord the Vandales passed the Straits of Calize into Africk : and afterward the Kifiggihs planted in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Banifacius, w ighing the disposition of the man, took it for a miracle that Bonifacius should turn Ulurper; and by Placidia's direction went to him to Carehage, and spake with him; where they faw Actim Letters, heard the whole busines, and returning reported to the Empres, in whatterns he stood: She amazed at this, butt not Again, nor reproacht the difference done to the Emper ours house, his power being great; and the Emperours affairs in bad terms; Bur with that advertisement of his, the acquainted Bonifacine's friends, and befought them to draw him (upon her oath for his fafety) to return to his Country, and norto endure to fee the Roman Empire reduced under Rarbanians. Bourfacine hearing this, repented his League with the Barkaziane, and woord them with large promifes to leave Africk. But they thought themselves scorned by such Propositions, so that he was forced to come to blower with them, and being beat ten retired to Hipposa strong City in Namidia upon the Sea. Where the Vandales besieged him under the leading of Genfrick: Gontharn being dead, made away by his brother, forme lay a but other Vandalas lay a the was taken priliquer by the Germans in a barrail in Spain, and crusified, and that Genferick was King alone, and lead the Handshet into Africk But Hippothay could not get by force nor composition, and they were prest with famine; forthat after much time spent they miled their fiege. Shorely after a great Army carps from Rome and Confrantinople under the General Aspar to Bonifacius; which in a battel very bravely. fought, he had much the worle, and all ran away. Afper returned home and Bonifacine came to Placidia , and removed the groundless suspicion against with a long Siege, put his Army

Thus the Kandals got Africk from the Romanes and the enemies they took alive, they referred for here in restrainen Among abon was Marinen, who was Emperous after the decease of The dollars Rus then Confined commanding the captives to be brought into the Palace, that he might examine if any had not a Mafter fit for his quality; and they being together in the open air about noon in the heat of Summer, croubled with heat and weary, they lay down, and fel afleep, when an Hagle flying that way, bovered with her wings spread out over the head of Marianin. Genferick markt this ftrange Omen not to come for nothing, called for him, and askt him what he was: He faid he was the Affiltant of Afpar in his fecret affairs, (an Officer the Romans call Domefticus.) Genferick confidering the gesture of the Hagle, and Africa power in Canstantinople, would not kill him; not thinking fuchian Omen he for a dying man . If he were to reigne, he was not left to him to kill Gods detrees are not possibly to be prevented : So he bound him by each tobb his friend, and upon no ground ever to make war upon the Vandales. Thus was Moreiann dismiffed grand thorthy after forceeded Theodofius and proved a very good Prince! Only he regarded not how things went in Africk But this was afterwards down and beauty men with V 290000 and the Empire, and to redeem i.er, fuffering things abominable, from the 1 years.

She urged him as his briend and Ailier and the it were ampious, both a chary should be acted in a Kings house without a revenger; And from College medic she expected no revenge. The algebraic and Maryland in position of the Empire. Genserick for no other respect, but shading he thould get his by it sailed into testy with a great Navy, market up to Rome; and (none respective). The sailed into testy with a great Navy, market up to Rome; and (none respective).

Exfericle, after the defeat of Afger and Bonifacian, weighing witch the 13 Iriety of fortune, that new Armies might come from Roma and Confrantiaple, that his powers would not match with the Romans and that God changes mens fortunes as they grow old a he refolved in his new victories to bear burnled moderately; and not too dright. So he made a league with Valentinian, pand him reiberte, and definis fon Honoriese in hostage; whom afterward he received home, when their friendship was more grown in hostage; whom afterward he received home, when their friendship was more grown in the mean time Placinia died at Rome; Valentinian having only two daughters by Lindayia, fifter to Theodofius. But he was ruined thus, Maximus Senaton, defeended from that Maximus the Dyrant, destroyed by Thombalantheridety for which the Romans celebrate an annual festivals, had a very fobrit and fair Lady to his wife. I alentinian being

Anno Dom. 430 do Valentiniani Terti: anno quarto.

This is supplied from the Latine Translation. Here the Greek

in love with her, and defiring to enjoy her, but finding it difficult, used this wicked plot. He fent for Maximus to the Palace, and at Dice laid gold against his Ring. and won it; This he fent fecretly to the wife in the husbands name, requiring her to come immediately to visit the Empress Endoxia: She obeyed, and some acquainted with the fecret waited upon her in the Court into a room far from the Empresses chamber; There Valentinian met her, and ravisht her. She extreamly affliced with the dishonour, went home, all blubber'd with tears, and reviled Maximus for giving the opportunity: Who being infinitely grieved at it, confpired against the Emperour. But seeing the great power of Actim, who lately had defeated Arrilas invading the Roman Empire with a mighty Army of Maf-Cagetes and other Scythians, and fearing him for an obstacle of his proceedings, he determined first to remove him, not considering that in Actius was the whole hope of the Romans. So by the artifices of some Eunuchs about the Emperour, his friends, he infuled into the Emperour, that Aerins was plotting a revolt. And Valentinian judging the information by no other argument but by the worth and power of Actius, put him to death. When a Roman was famous for a word spoken, being askt by the Emperour, if the killing of Acrisis were not well done? and answering. That he could not tell whether it were well done, or how it was done; but this he knew, that he had cut off his right hand with his left. Aerins being dead, Atrila having none to match him, forraged at his case all Europe, and made both the Empires tributary, both the Emperours fending him annual

Then they fay, Artilas belieging Aquileis, a great and populous maritime City within the Ionian gulf, and not being able by force nor otherwise to get the town, and wearied with a long Siege, put his Army in readiness to rise the next day by fun-rising; and the Barbarians were busic in their retreat accordingly: When a Stork having his nest upon one of the turrets, where he had bred his young, suddenly with his young shew from the same, the young ones sometimes slying even with him, sometimes getting upon his back; and thus they fled far from the town. Attilas seeing it (being a very cunning Diviner) commanded his Army to stand still, telling them that the Bird with his young ones was not fled away for northing, but prophessed some mischles to the Town. Upon this they say the Barbarians renewed their siege, and that the wall by the Storks ness fell down of it felf, making the Town open to the enemy, and that so Aquileia was taken by assaying the Town open to the enemy, and that so Aquileia was taken by

But afterward Maximus killed the Emperour, and married Endoxia by force, his wife being newly dead .... And in bed he spake a word once, how for her love he had done what he did. Buttonia, before offended with Maximus, and defirous to revenge the wrong done to Valentinian, by this word was more incenfed to plot against him, hearing thus from Maximus himself how her husbands disaster came for her fake. So that, no fooner day, but the fent to Carebage, entreating Genferick to revenge Valentinian, ruined by a wicked man, in a manner unworthy of himself and the Empire; and to redeem her, suffering things abominable, from the Tyrant. She urged him as his Friend and Allie; and that it were impious, such a villany should be acted in a Kings house without a revenger; And from Constantinople the expected no revenge, Theodofiss being dead, and Martianus in possession of the Empire. Genserick for no other respect, but finding he should get wealth by it, failed into Italy with a great Navy, marcht up to Rome, and (none refisting) was Mafter of the Imperial palace. Maximus running away, the Romans stoned to death, and cut off his head, and rent his other members in pieces. Endoxia with her two daughters by Valentinian, Endocia and Placidia, Genferick made prifoners, and carried away to Carthage infinite wealth of gold and filver, and ipared neither Brais nor any thing in the palace. He robbed the Temple of Inpiter Capitalina, and took away half the covering of its being of the richest brais with much gold melted in it, and very admirable and magnificent. They fav, the thip where the Images were was cast away, but with the rest the Vandals landed at Carthage, Endocia Genferick married to his eldele don Hanoricus; The other daughter was married to Olybrins a principal Senator of Rime, whom with the mother Enderin, at the Emperours requelt, the fent to Conffantinople. The Empire

pire of the East Leo then held, Affar placing him therein after the death of had marrian in the control of the East Leo then held, Affar placing him therein after the control of the marrian in the control of the cont

## fillene, defining a five days leven Atlan H Ot advice upon the means of doing the Emperours pleafure. They fay be fear.

Enferick afterward took down the wals of all the Cities of Africk, fave Carthage; That the African fiding with the Roman might have no strong places to gather head, nor the Emperours forces by taking towns and by garrifons in them, think to trouble the Vandals. His counsel feemed a good one then, to secure the Fandals: But afterward, when these Towns without walls were for easily taken by Belisarine, Genserick was laught at, and his wife counsel judged folly. Thus men ever change their opinions of counsels, with the fortunes of chem. The rich and eminent men of Africk he gave as so many bond men, with their lands and goods, to his sons, Honoricus and Genson, Theodorne being dead without iffue: From the rest he took their lands, and bestowed them on the other Vandals, which are yet called the Vandals Heritages. All the Towns he gave his form, and others be called the Kings land, freeing the same perpetually from tributes : "The ancient possessors the while had the fortune to be poor and free men, and had permission to go whither they would, st Some held, or claimed their lands to no purpole . Many were banished and put to death upon no cause, specially fuch as were thought to have hid money in their houses. Thus Africk was overwhelmed with miseries. Genserick also in convenient places had garrisons under 80 Colonels, whom he called Chiliarche, as if his Army were so many thousands, being in truth but 30000. At first be enrolled only Vandals and Alans, afterward he admitted under the pame of Vandals all other Barbarians, except Army and at last he received them also into the Army. After the death of Van lentinian, he made every Spring a voyage to sob Sicily, or Italy, tacking lome Cities, and foure laying flat with the ground. When he had made havock in thole parts, turning upon the Eastern Empire, he infested Illyrium and Peloponelsu, and the Hands'adjacent, with the rest of Greece: Then to Italy and Sicily again, if ought were left, to pillage it. Once hoying fail from the Port of Carthage, his Shid-mafter askt him, whither he would go for pillage? His answer was, Whither God fall drive me. Making war thus at random.

The Emperour Leo, to restrain this insolence, prepared an Army of 100000 men to fend against the Vandals, and a great Navy, collected from all parts of Greece. This war, they fay, cost him a huge treasure, and to no purpose. His General was Basiliscus, brother to his wife Verina, the trustiest man he had, and safest for him; friendship continuing yet between him and Aspar, who, being an Arian, could not get the Empire, but with his power made Leo, against whom afterward he conspired. And now fearing lest the victory of the Vandals might make him proud, both to his particular, and in the government, he instructed Basiliscus at his departure to prolong the war. Lee also sent Anthemias a Senator, great in blood and estate, to be Emperour of the West, that he might be aiding to him in the Vandalick war. And Genserick promised the Western Empire to Olybring, Placidia's husband, to joyn with him; upon which confidence he had higher thoughts, and more vexed the Roman dominions. \* In the mean time Marcellianns a friend of Actins, (who after the murder of Actins entred into action against Valentinian, and got the dominion of Dalmatia, none opposing) Lea courted and gained; and then fent him to the Iland of Sardinia Subject to the Vandals, whom Murcellianus presently drave out and got the Hand. From Constantinople also was fent Heraelius into Tripolis in Africk, who took all the Towns therein left his thips there, and led his Army by land to Cartbage. These were the entrances into this war. But Bafilifons arrived with his Army at a small Town 35 miles from Carthage, called Mercurium, from an ancient Temple of Mercury. And if be had not trencherously dallied, but marcht instantly to Curebage, he had taken the Town instantly, and made the Vandals his Captives. So much afraid was Genserick

\*Lat.verf.

\* The Greek

Book I

of Leo, seeing Tripolis and Sardinia taken, and so brave a Navy as the Romans had not set out of a long time. But this the Generals either cowardly, or traiterous delay hindred. But Genserick made this good use of Basiliscan his negligence. He armed his Subjects, manned most of his ships, and made ready of the rest the swiftest of fail without men in them; then sent Ambassadors to Bafilifens,, defiring a five days ceffation, that he might advise upon the means of doing the Emperours pleasure. They say, he sent him closely a great sum of money, which bought this truce, supposing (which came to pass) that he should get in that time a wind to bring his ships about. And Bufilifens, either to comply with his promife to Affar, or felling his opportunity, or whether he thought it so best, lay stil, attending the enemies advantage. But the Vandals (the wind serving) hoss fail against the enemy, towing after the ships without men. When they came near, they put fire into the empty ships, whose sails spreading to the wind, they let them run upon the Roman Navy. They falling in among a multitude of Vessels, suddenly consumed with themselves, those they fell foul with. In the mean time the Roman sleet was in consuson, with cries equalling the winds the Roman fleet was in confusion, with cries equalling the winds, and the whizzing of the flames, and with the Soldiers and Mariners calling, and thrusting the fire-thips with long poles, from their own pittifully perithing. The Vandale also shot, and sunk the rest, taking the slying Soldiers with Arms and all. Some in this over-throw did bravely; specially folin, Lieutenant General to Bafilifem, but not acquainted with his Treason: His thip being boarded, he slew many upon the deck; and when he faw the fhip taken by the enemy, he leapt into the fea with all his Arms. Genfon, the son of Genferick wooed him, and gave him his faith to fave his life; but he plunged into the fea, using this word only, That John should never come into the hands of dogs.

And this was the end of this war: Heraclim returned home; Marcelianus perisht by the Treason of one of his fellow-Commanders: But Basiliscus in Confiantinople took sanctuary in the great Church dedicated to Christ, (the Confiantinoplesaus call it the Church of St. Sophia, holding the attribute of wisdom most becoming God;) and the Empress Verius obtained his pardon. But the Empire he could not then get, what he endeavoured: for Leo shortly after killed Aspar and Ardabarius in his Palace, suspecting them to conspire his death; Anthemius, also Emperour of the West, was slain by Recimer who married his daughter. And Olybrius succeeding him, had not long after the same fate. Leo deceasing in Constantinople, Leo the son of Zeno, and of Ariadm daughter to Leo, received the Empire, being very young. And his father being chosen his partner

in the Empire, the child was quickly rid out of the way.

#### CHAP. VII:

Then Majorinus had the Western Empire; a man worth the remembring; as excelling in virtue all the Roman Emperours that ever were. He could not with patience endure the disaster of Africk, but raised a great Army in Liguria to go against the Vandals himself, being industrious and very ventrous of his person. He thought best first to discover the Vandals power, and the humour of Genserick; and how the Moors and Africans stood affected towards them: And resolving to put this in execution himself, he took his journey to Genserick with a selgned name, and as an Ambassador from the Emperor. And surther to avoid mischief and the overthrow of his business by discovery, he died his hair, (which was as yellow as the finest gold) into a persect blew for the time. Genserick to fright him, took him in a friendly way, into his Armory, where was much good Arms. They say the Arms then of themselves moved, and classed together; that Genserick thought it an Earthquake: but being without, and upon enquiry sinding no notice taken of any Earthquake, he thought it a miracle, not guessing the meaning. Majorinus dispatcht to his desire, returned into Liguria; lead his Army over land, purposing to cross the Straits at Hercules

Ars.dom.471

Pillars, and so to march to Canibage. Generick informed thereof, and how he was decrived by Majorina, was beautify a finide, and grade preparation for the war; and the Boways from the virtues of information opening deprecation for the war; and the Boways from the Majorina died of a dyfficiency; a man moderate to his Subjects, and to his enemies terrible; newly tooms to the Empire, and living in its toomhore a sime. Glycomin succeeded him, and had the subject twine. Then Angustus succeeded the Empire. Other Emperous chest write the the West, whose sames though I know how they have a very frest time in the Covernment, and so do not not him whath are nightly and the state of the subject of

the Government, and to doing nothing worth mentioning brenge driw reflicted. But Bafflifent in Conferencepte passes netting love with the Empire have upsed to pling, and prevailed to Som with his hospeck fled into discorned is trading Council cry: And Bestifour usurpeda year and tight months; generally hand by all men, and by the very Quards of the Palace for his extreme systica in Zenatherros ed. sertifed, went against him with any Arm II, it ownions Auflifour opposed another where administrative his General value being sentamped near, before an ibidivered his Army to Zreas upop condition to finally make his for Baffifaus, Sefer being very young do and make him bis forcefforyons Baffifeet forfaken by all abo, world, fled to the Church of Sin Repbier; but desedes the Bilbiop of the City, I put him into Ander bands, objecting against him impiety, in much ambroising and innovating the Chaistian Doctrini, as inclining to the heratic of Entreter. And so it was indied. Zone relianing the Empire, was one ply somewhat with his outh to Armarus) adopted his for Entifones but foon after deprised him of that honour, and killed Armarus. Belitifons with his wife and shildson he fent into Coppader ris in the winter featon, sommanding them to be left without meat or apparel, o day other convenienties Where placks with coldend burger, and flying to bue another for succount endiracing their own dair belies, they all died. Such purishment had Bushigene he bis ill Government. Anather things he pand of memard of Governot interior now either with force on artifices, thaten off his es nomies, harried the Roman Provinces mode then every will Zeno cane to a Treas ey with him is and a perpenual peace was concluded a Ebst the Haddels Thould commit no bels of shothing against the Romann's but from them rateive any.

# in order to fight. The field where he would can such her on in with a circle a-bout, and placed his Camels fide-long in a round to fen e.). Ching, making the Your 19 Camel deep: Til W.W. a. Add H.D. unable 1 er, and bage age he not the middle, and his fighting, men between the less of those bestern

Dit Genferick therely after died a very old man; charging the landals by his Deftament, that the Kingdom thould descend ever to such male descendent of Genferick; as was eldest in years! Genferick baving reigned over the landals from his taking of Garshage 39 years. Howeview his eldest for succeeded, Genfen being dead. In the reigne of Honoriem, the landals had war only with the Moons, who being rid of Genferick, who kept them in awe, did the landals many mischiers and suffered many. This Honoriem was most cruel, and unjust to the Christians of Africa; forcing them to turn Arrians, or for refusing, burning, and in several sorts destroying them. From many he cut out their tongues by the roots; who to my time lived in Constantinople, speaking perfectly, and feeling no manner of inconvenience from that torture. Two of these, medling with light women after it, soft their speech. He reigned 8 years, and died in his bed. The Moors inhabiting the mountain Anrasium, being revolted whereasty from the Vandals and not to be reduced, by reason the Vandals could humscome to finds when them in that steep unpussable mountain. A honories in the Vandals could have some to finds when them in that steep unpussable mountain. A honories in the Vandals could have some to find when the vandals could be some of Genferick, having the admanage of the mountain of Genfericks the Vandals could have any of Genfericks the Jon of Genfericks the Mannage of the Sandals and Christians made then the descent descent and the Christians made then the content of th

\* An dom. 479. & Zenonis feptime.

> An. dom 488, G Zenszis 19.

An. Dom. 500. & Anaftafii 7. other ; and died in the middle of the tath, year of his reign of His brother Trafament fucceeded a goodly man, wife and magnanimous, But he constrained the Christians to change, nor by tortures, as his Predecessors; buccourting them with honours and offices, and with large gifts; taking no notice of fush as would not submit. If he found a man in a great crime, he offered him impunity to change his religion. His wife being dead without children, and he defirous to establish his government with succession demanded to wife Amelagrida, the fifter of Theoderick King of the Goths, whole husband was lately dead . He fent him men; and he gave her Litybunns, one of the Promontories of Sicily. So Trajamend of all the Princes of the Vandet feeined the most powerful. Yet in his reign the Vindet had a great overthirow from the Moore Cabana Prince of the Moore about Trajata; a man experienced in many wars, and very witty, hearing that the Vandet would make it is also had been been been as the Cabana beautiful. his fifter with a guard of 1000 felected Gubs, attended with 5000 more, fighting make war alpon hims fielt enjoyned his Subjects to forbeat unjust de lings delicious foods and specially the company of stomen. Then he made two Entrenchments in the one himself lodged and his men y in the other he shift up the women, making it death for any man to go into the womens Entrenchmenty Then he lent spiels to Carriage with this direction, to mark what forms the Vinday upon their march did up he Childrens Churches; and when they were gone from the place; theulfalses up doe the quiet contany. And they fay he used this lipech. Thus his true, be now benefine of the God when the Christians with his were to powerful a they fay he is that he will

panifs those that scorn him, and defend those that honour him.

The Spies having marke the Vandale preparations at Carthage, followed their Army in a poor diffuile toward Tripolis. The Vandals at their first dayes march fodged in the Christians Churches, put in their horses and other beasts, and spared no kind of scorn. They practised therein all lewdness, and beat and whipt the Priests they found, commanding them fervices which they imposed on their mean. Priests they found, commanding them services which they impose a on their meanest slaves. So soon as they were gone; the Spies of Cabaon, according to his order,
made the Churches clean again, took away the dirt and such like proteinely left in
them, lighted the Lamps, and lowly reverence to the Priests, and used them courreoutly, and to many poor about those Churches gave money, and then followed
the Vandali termy. Thus in all the journey, they mended herein what the Vandals
offended: And being come neer, went before to Cabaon, and told him how far the enemy was, and what was done to the Christians Churches. He presently put in order to fight. The field where he would entrench, he took in with a circle about, and placed his Camels side-long in a round to fence his Camp, making the Front 12 Camels deep: The women and children, unable men, and baggage he put in the middle, and his fighting men between the legs of those beafts with thields to ward with. The Vandals knew not what to do to this kind of batallion, being neither Archers, nor Darters, not good Infantry, but most Horf-men using the Lance and the Sword, and not able to harran enemy afar off; and their horses not enduring the fight of the Camels, would not approach the enemy, who darting at multitudes from a lafe place, killed them and their horses, that they ran away. The Moors followed the execution, and killed and took them, to that few came home. This fortune had Trafamend with the Moors, and after 27 years riche both , received and show beautiful best and roll of the both and received both and received both and received beautiful of the course was referred by being the course was referred by the received beautiful of the course where the course with the course of the co

An Doin. 527.

dy Fustini 9. Ir was Fustiincian Ab C. will being resolve niani 1. who T Librick forceeded him, the fon of Honoricus, the fon of Genferick ! A Prince began to reign with Justin on good Friday mild to his fubjects, and not harth to Christians, nor to any; but faint-hearted, not enduring to hear of war. In such expeditions as the Vandals had, Heamer of that year, s was Generall, his nephew, a good Souldier, whom they called the Achilles of the Phildals. In his reign the Kandals loft a hattel against the Moors of Byzacium, commanded by Annalla , and fell one with Theodorick and the Goshi in Italy. in August following.

For they kept in prison Amalafrida, and put all the Goths to death who attended her, charging them with practice against their King and State. Of this Theodorick had no revenge, wanting a Navy to make war upon Africk; and Ilderick was an ancient friend of Infinitary who governed absolutely then, (his Uncle Justin being very old, and not skill'd in affairs of State) and they courted each other with Presentary and has fielded as paid, scaled and to follow and according

There was of the race of Genferick one Gelimer, the fon of Gelgrin the fon of Genfon, of ripe years, and fo expected immediately to succeed Ilderick In war he was thought one of the best of his time, but wicked, and skilful, in mutinies and rapines. Perceiving his Reign coming flowly, though he had taken the government by the yieldingness of Ilderick, he could not keep his choughes in that comdirion, but made a party, and periwaded the best men to depose Ilderick , as a Coward, beaten by the Moors; and betraying the State to the Emperoun Pullin, to keep the Kingdom from him, who was of the other bonfe, which he faid was the intent of the late Ambassage to Constantinople. They did so upon these perfwalions; \* And Gelimer getting the Kingdom, kept Ilderick in prilon, after feven years reign; with Hoamer, and his brother Evagees. Infinian hercof advertifed, being now Emperour, Sent Ambassadors, and wrote thus to Gelimer. Tou doe not religiously, nor at is due to the testament of Genserick, to keep in prison an old man of your blood, and your King (if Genserick's wise constitutions be worth ought) and to force from him a Kingdom, which shortly you will have by law. Protred not in evil; nor change the title of a King to that of an Usurper, for a little advantage of time : But let him carry the image of Royalty to his grave (whereinto he is stepping) your self having the execution of it already; and having the substance. attend upon the Law of Genserick for the name. If you doe thus, you will find God propitions and Us your friend. But Gelimer fent away the Ambassadors unsatisfied; put out Hoamers eyes, and kept Ilderick; and Evagees in straiter prison, accusing them to have attempted an escape to Constantinople. Upon this Justinian sent other Ambassadors, and wrote thus. We did not think, you would have done the quite contrary to our advices. But feeing it pleases you to get a Kingdom thus, take what fortune gives you. But fend to me Ilderick, and blind Hoamer and his brother, to get such comfort, whereof men are capable, who have lost Kingdoms and eye-fights. If you refuse this, we will not endure it. The hope they had in our friendship induces us; and the Treaties with Genferick cannot frop m, being not to make war upon, but to vindicate his Successor. To this Gelimer made this answer. King Gelimer to the Emperour Justinian. I have neither taken the Kingdom by force, nor committed impiety against mine own blood. The Vandals deposed Ilderick for practising against the honse of Genserick: And me time bath called to the Kingdom, giving me my right of eldership according to the law. "Tis good for a man to govern the State be hath, and not to encroach upon other mens cares; and 'sis just in you, who have a Kingdom of your own, not to be thus medling. If you break the Treaties, and invade 24, We shall oppose you to our power; calling to witness the oath sworn by Zeno, whose successor you are. Instinian was angry before, but these letters more set him upon a revenge: And being an acute devifer, and nimble in execution, he refolved to conclude the Persian war speedily, and then to invade Africk. Belifarin Gene. ral of the East was, then at Court, sent for; but with no word of leading an Army into Africk. It was given out, that he was discharged of his government: And the Perfian perpetual Truce was newly made.

Instinantal being well at home, and with Persia at a consultation acquainted the great Officers, that he would levy an Army against Gelimer and the Vandats. The most of them were discontented at it, remembring the overthrow of Basisson, and that great Fleet of the Emperour Leo, the Souldiers lost, and the huge debt made by the State. Above all, the Prefect of the Palace, (whom the Romani call Pretor) was netted at it, and the Lord High-Treasurer, and all Collectors of tributes, both belonging to the Treasury and the Emperoir; considering how they must supply the necessities of the war infinitely, and not be admitted to excuse or delay. And every Generall, doubting the employment apprehended the greatness of the hazard; after escaping the sea, to encamp in an enemies country, and upon their landing to fight with a great and potent Kingdom. The Souldiers

\* C 2

\* Andom. 530. & Justiniani quarto.

\* An-dom. \$33. Justiniani fepti. A. Palitalund

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newly returned from a long and difficult war,, fcarce having tafted of their homes contentments, were troubled to be led now to a Sea-fight (a thing they had nevet heard of ) and to be fent from the Ent to the Well to hazard against Kandals and Atoris! All others (asis the manner of multitudes) meant to be spect ators of new buffireffes, with other mens danger. None durft erole the voyages fave Jobs the Cappadocian, Prefect of the Palace, being the boldest and smartest maniof his time? "He ( while others mourned in silence) foalse thus to the Emperour. Sir I The fecurity of converting with you gives me confidence, to fpeak things expedient for your fervice, though not pleasing. Your wildom hath fo temper'd power & juffice in you, that you judg not him absolutely a friend to your affairs who seconds you, nor are offended with opposing you; weighing things by the sime tere meaning: which makes it safe to differ from your counsels. Hereby induced Sir I shall advise happily what for the present may offend, but here after I shall make my affection apparant, and call you for a witness. If you shall beging war with the Vandals, and then find it grow into length, my counsel will then appear good. If your confidence stile from afturance of victory, no marvail you venture men, fpend money, and engage the toyls of fuch combats : for victory gorren covers these afflictions of war. But seeing this is in the hands of 'God, and that looking upon foregoing prefidents, we cannot but fear the event of thiswar; certainly to content our felves with quietness, is better, then the hazards of battels. You will fend an Army against Carebage, whither by land it must march 140 dayes journy; or fail the ength of the great fea to the utmost bounds of it: So that the news of the occurrents will be a year in coming to you. And if you vanquish your enemies, yet you cannot be master of Africk, Sicily and staly being in other hands. But if you be overthrown, (the Peace being broken) you will draw the war upon your own country. In a word, it will not be in your power to enjoy the victory; and if fortune be crofs, it will ruine the affairs well fetled. Before action confultation is profitable : when the blow is given, it is vain to repent; but before it, one may fafely change his mind: It will be most expedient therefore to make due use of the times. The Emperour approved this advise, and let fall his eagerness to the war. But a Bishop out of the East got access to him, and told him, "That God had charged him in a dream to blame him , having undertaken to deliver the Christians in Africk from Tyrannie, to grow faint now upon no ground; whereas I will affift him (faid he) and make him mafter of Africk. The Emperour upon this could hold no longers but prepared an Army and a Navy, and provisions, requiring Belifarius to be in readiness to goe Generall into Africk.

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RIPOLIS was already put into rebellion against the Vandals by one Pudenline, a native there, who sent to the Emperour for an Army to subdue the
Province unto him; who sent Taerimush with some small forces; with whom
Pudenius joyning, and sinding to Vandals there, he took the Countrey for the
Emperour. Gelimer was hindred from chastizing Pudentius, by Godas a Goth and
servant of Gelimer, samman pragmatical and couragious, and seeming well affected to his Master. To this Godas Gelimer had committed the Guard of Sardinia, and to collect the tributes there; whose mind not digesting such a fortune,
he usured the Island, and denyed to send the Tributes, keeping them to himself.
And understanding that Institutes fought occasions of a war with Gelimer; He
wrote this to him. More our of ingratistade, nor Instring any disfavour from my
Master, I have thought upon a result. But seeing his cruelty bath to kindred and
subjects; I mould not millingly be a parasher of the famile. It is bester to serve a
institution my enterprise, and send me forces to defend me from an invasion. The
Emperour sent Eulogian to him, and wrote him an answer, commending his wish

dom and zeal to justice; and promising aides, and a General sufficient to keep the Island, and assistance otherwise, that the Vandals should not hurt him. Enloging being come into Sardinia, found Godan had put on the title and habit of a King; and gotten a Guard about him. And to the Emperours Letters he said, That for souldiers he desired them, but had no need of a General. Which he wrote to the Emperour and dismiss subjectives.

Us in the feaventh year of Juffinians reign, assigned fimite dans caporaginal of mility and capabage and particopy branching the representation and capabage and guard the Illand for Godas ... And wish themobashed in resting stips Carthage, 10000 foot, and page horse levied of the Lagionaries and Confederates, Heretofore fuch Barbaronni only werdenscalled Confederates, as were admitted into the Remain State; not to be flaves (As basing not been yanginihit by the Romans) but upon equal terms othe Romans, calling feeder as their Treaties with those they have find war witho? but now all take that mame a time not designing to keep names upon the things they were first pur, and things being called as men please; not as they were before their times as The Commanders of the Confederates were, Durothen General of Armenia, and Solomon, who was a fiftantico the General Betificinis; the Romans call Sudhan Officer, Demelicus; \* (be was an Euruch, but not purposely dury but upon an accident in his swathing clouds ). Capriants also, and Valerianus, Marrinus, Addhear, John, Marcellus, and Cyrillus afore mentioned! Of the Legionaries, Ruffinus and Aigan, (who had been of the retinue of Belisarius) and Barbatus, and Rappus, were Commanders of horse; and of foot, Zadus, Martianus, Sarapis and Theodorus, Sirnamed Ctenatus, and Terentius. John who was born at Duraste, commanded in chief all the foot, Solomon came from the farthest East, belonging to the Romans, near Danas. Aigan was a Hunne; all the rest were Thracians. Pharas also commanded 400 Hexrulians and Sinnion and Balas, gallant men, had 600 auxiliary Hunny all Archers on horseback. This Army was transported by 500 ships; none being of more burden then 50000 Medimni, nor of less then 3000. They were manned with 2000 Mariners, most Egiptians, Ionians, and Cilicians. The Admiral of the whole Fleet was Calonymus an Alexandrian. They had also 92 \* Pinnaces in cafe of a fea-fight, with one row of oars, and decks over their heads; not to be fubject to the Enemies shot. They call these Dromones, for their fwiftness had aboard no passengers, but 2000 rowers, Constantinopolitans. Archelaus, a Patritian, who had been Frafect of the Palace in Conffantinople, and Myrium, went pow Prafect of the Camp. So is the Officer called who makes provision for the Army. Over them all , the Emperour placed Belifarius (late Commander of the Oriental Legions) his General with absolute authority; whom many Launciers and Targeriers followed, old tryed Souldiers, The Emperour enabled him by his Letters to do whatfoever feemed best unto him; and the same to be firm, as the Emperours own act ... Belifarius was bornin Germania, a City which stands in the confines of Illynium and Thrace.

Goldiner in the mean time having lost Tripolis by Pudentins, and Sardinia by Goddin: The first lying far off; and having Roman aids already, be gave over; and fent no forces against it. But to prevent the Emperours succours in the Island, he sent inder his brother Tricom 2000 Vandals in 120 good ships. But Institution having commanded away Vateriaious and Marrinus, to attend the rest of the Army in Pedoponesus; and being both aship-board; be had some further direction to give them, which he had resolved, but it was forgotten upon other business intervening. So he sent for them, to tell it; but again thinking it inconvenient to interrupt their passage; he sent to command them not to return to him any more, nor to come ashore. The Messenger called out aloud to them not to come back again at all. The company took it for a bad Omen, that none of them should return out of Africk to Constantinople. And they thought the Emperour unwittingly had sent themselved of a curse. If it be interpreted of Valerianus and Marrinus, the conceit proved not true. But Storzas, there a Lancier of Marrinus, was to rebel against the Emperoury and usury, and never to come back, to Constantinople: upon whom semmy be conjectured fortune conferred that curse;

not each finip was call behind. And as weighing and for from a fall which be no plut them.

Caffiodorns
cals these Domesticos ministros qui
comitibus ad
obeunda publica munera
obsequebantur. Who sellowed the Comites or Generals to execute
publick services, Lib. 9 ad
vilum.

\* About 1200. tun, accounting a medimnus for a bushel. \* Which is among the 500 (hips,40 to a Ship, one with another. I wonder how the Latine Transla. tor thought 3000 Mari. ners could mann 500 wips. But he, though a learned man, had not the Greek Edition now extant; and fo his Tranfla. tion is full of creors.

\* Not in Ger many, as some Germans would have it; but in Germania, a City of Thrace in the confines of Illyrium. It was a Metropolis, and recited in the San Hions of the Eastern Bihops, faith, Alemannus, in bis Historical notes upon the Secret History.

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#### CHAP. XI.

\* Being supplied out of the beginning of the Secret History.

Ut in the seaventh year of Justinians reign, about the Summer Tropick, the DArmy was embarqued; and Belifarine the General commanded the Prztorian thip to ride under the Emperours Palace. Thither came Epiphanisu, Archbishop of the City; and having prayed as was fitting, he put aboard a Souldier newly baptized, " Whose Godfather and Godmorber were Belisarius, and Antonina, being one of their housbold, and named Theodosius, and much valued by them. And thus the said General and his wife put to sea. With them was Procopius; the Writer of this History; who at the first was afraid of this Voyage; but a dream, he had, encouraged him, and made him eager uponit. He dreamt he was in Belifaring his house, whom a servant told that one had brought him presents; that Belifaring bad himself go look upon them; and he in the inner Court, saw men carrying flowers growing with their earth; which he commanded them to lay down in the Porch. That then Belifarin came with his Life-Guard, fate down upon that earth and eat of the flowers, willing the rest to do the like, who fell to, and feemed much pleased with the dainties. Thus was the dream. But the fleet followed the Pratorian ship, and at Perinthus, now called Heraclin, staid five days; where the Emperour gave the General almost all his horses of his paflures in Thrace. From thence they came before Abydus, where being becalmed four days; it fell out that two Massagetes in their drink (the Massagetes being all great drunkards) killed one of their Countreymen, whom Belisarim crucified upon a hillock near Abydm. The rest, especially the kinsmen of the men, murmured; That they came not to aid the Romans upon terms of subjection to their Laws; and by their own Laws, murders had no fuch punishments. Some Roman Soldiers murmured too; fuch as would not be punished for their offences. Whereupon Belifarin spake thus to the Army. 'To men that never faw wars, I should need a long speech to perswade, how great a preparation for victory it is to be just. But you by often vanquishing enemies, not inferiour in bodies, and very valiant; and by often having the contrary success, have learnt; that men fight in both the Armies, but God determines the victory, as himself pleases, So that we must make less account of good bodies, of arms, and warlick preparations, then of justice and duty to God. For men in need are to honour that most, which is most able to do them good. Now the principal mark of justice is, the punishment of murderers: For if we must judge of right and wrong, by what men do to one another; certainly to a man nothing is so precious as life. If any Barbarian killing his Countryman in drink, upon that pleads impunity; I conceive his excuse aggravates his crime: For a man must not be so drunk as to kill his best friends; specially in an Army; nay drunkenness it self, without murder, deserves punishment. And then to wrong ones own Nation, appears more heinous to any man of understanding, then a stranger. The example and event of such doings you may all yonder behold. And you must not begin quarrels, nor take away ought which is other mens. Neither will I endure that man, or efteen him a fouldier of mine, who cannot employ innocent hands against our enemies, No valour will get the victory, which is not rankt with 'justice. The Army upon this speech, and seeing the crucified men, and expecting the danger of committing unlawfull acts, grew afraid, and resolved to live sober-ly. Then, that the whole Army might sail, and lie at anchor together (in a great fleet many ships necessarily being cast behind, specially if the wind blow high, and the ship-masters know not what leader to follow) he painted the masts of his own thip, and two others where his train was, from the top about a third part, with red, and in their sterns setting up high poles, hung up lanterns, that the Generals thips might be feen both by night and day. And to these he commanded the ship-masters to hold their course; which thus leading the whole sleet, not one ship was cast behind. And at weighing anchor from any harbour, the Trumpets ever founded the warnings. From Abydus a stiff wind brought them

to Sigaum; from whence being becalmed, they came late to Malea. calm flood them inflead ; for the want of fea-room for fo great a freet , and in the night, troubled, and endangered the same. The Mariners did bravely, Calling out, and thrusting with their long poles, and skilfully keeping their distances but if the wind had rifen strong, and against them, drhey had with much adoe faved the thips. But getting by , they reached Tanarus, now called Conopoles. From arrived a little before; and the wind not ferving, Belifarius landed the whole Ar my sa There he diffributed the Commands, and ordered the Soffiers; and being therein bufie, and the wind not ferving, many of the Army died of a fickness thus occasioned. John the Cappadocian, a bad man, was ingenuous to find projects for money to the treasury, with the rame of men; (a man beyond my power to describe; and in my former History I have spoken of him; ) but now he destroyed these soldiers thus. The bread for the Army, to make it laste, and not corrupt too foon, is to be twice baked; and fo of necessity must weigh less; and the foldiers in the giving it out, melt have a fourth part less in weight. John, that he might pend tels wood; and wages upon bakers, et by gain the weight; brought the loaves unbaked to she publick bach and put the fame into the flove there, under which the fire is made of and being thus forrily baked, fent it in bags to the fleet: which being at Methone, the bisketzurn'd to dough, and that mouldy, corrupt, and winfty; and the Officers distributed it thus to the foldiers by pecks, and fometimes by buffiels. Who feeding upon it in the Summer, and a place of extream heats, grew fick, and above yoo died; and more had, if Belifarius had not provided bread of the Country to help them. He acquainted the Emperour therewith, who commended him for it . but he could not get John punished as then. benoriterp ad blud my, in what Port will you leave your

## cato Charles, you have a sundays a many openions winds and without a very sold of the second of the sunday sold of the second of

Abdu in the nide Rom Methone, they came to the Port of Zunte. Here they took in fresh wafer, and other necessaries, to pass the Adriatique sea; through which, with a fcant wind , they came in fixteen days to a defert coast of Sicily; near Mount Emm. In this linguing passage their waters correpted, all save what was drank artherable of Behfarius, which his wife devised to keep untainted, in fix vellels of glafs, covered thick with fand in a little cabbin in the hold, where the Sun could not come Belifaring landed there, and was much troubled in his thoughts, not knowing what foldiers the Vandali were, nor how, nor from whence to make the war upon them. The foldiersalfo troubled him, fearfull of a fea-fight, and not ashamed to tell him, that on land they will do their best, but if the enemies ships come they will fly , not able to fight with them and waters too In this perplexity he fent Procepins, his Afleffor, to Syracufe, to enquire if the enemy way-laid their paffage in the Island, or main Land : what part of Africk was best to land in, and from whenceto make the war, and this done, to meet him at Cancanas about 27 miles from Syracufe, where the fleet should ride at anthor. It was given one, he was fent to buy victoal of the Gorbo: For Amalafuntha in the mother of Antariou, had agreed with Pastimian to give his Army free market. Aralariens was under years bred by his mother, and was King of the Goths and Indlians in upon whom after the death of Theodoricas, the Kingdom descended; being fon to his daughter Amalafuntha; by a man deceased allo. Amalafuntha; to make Instinian her friend, had yielded to this free marker, among other his commands, and now performed it. But Prorupine found at Syracule a Countryman and Triend of his from a boy, refiding there about his Traffique at Sea 7 of whom he learnt all his demands. Fod a fervant of his who had returned within three days from Caribuge; told him; that there was no fear of the Vandatowayantest men being newly sent against Godar ; and that Gelimer having no thought

Thus the Author calls constantly that sea which others call Mare lonium.

of an enemy, neglected Carthage, and the feartowns, and made his abode at Harmi one, near Byzacium, 4 days journy from any fea; fo that they might fail on securely, and put in where the wind and weather should invite. Proceeding hearing this cook the servant by the hand to the Port, and was inquisitive of many particulars til being abourd, he commanded to hoift fail for Cameana. The Master of the fellow flood upon the fhore wondring at his mans not returning, But Proceeding called out to him not to take it unkindly, for his fervant must fpeak with the General mand guide the Army into Africk and then should be returned to him to Syrackfewith a rich reward. But arrived in the Army, he found them all mourning the death of Dorathens, General of Armenia, a man much delired bythe Army. Bilifarins, when he heard the news from the man, rejoyced extreamly, and much commending Proceping commanded the Trumpets to give warning for weighing anchor And so they came to the Isles of Gaulus and Makes, dividing the Adringian and Tyrrhene feas ; and thence with an Easterly wind, they came the ferono

day upon the coast of Africk , five dayes journey from Carrhage.

Being near the fhore , Belifarius commanded to east anchor; and affembling the Commanders, consulted of their landing. After some diversity of opinions, Archelans spake thus, Our Ceneral is to be commended highly, who having the advantage of wildom, experience and power, yet confults, and commands us to speak our opinions of landing, though knowing by his own observations what must and may be done. And I cannot but admire you she Commanders for lo readily perswading our landing; who know that to exhort men to an immipent danger, brings no advantage to the adviser, but laies him open to an accufation. For men, when things succeed to their defire, are pleased, and that's all: but when otherwise, they accuse the author of the advider though it be unjust that a man for his counsel in publick deliberations fould be questioned. But resolving thus to land in an enemies Country, in what Port will you leave your Thips? What fortification, or walled Town expect you? The coast from Lecca to Caribage, you hear is nine days journey open to all winds, and without any harbour: And in all Africk, by Genferick his command, no walled Towns are standing but Carthage: And the Country, I am told, is destitute of waters. And if in the midft of these incommodities we meet with an enemy, what shall we resolve then? shall we not think such counsels insused rather by some unlucky Damon, then humane reason? Our ships also, when we are landed, and a fform comes, must either be scattered infinitely, or else perish upon this shore. Then for your necessary support, what supply expect you? Let no man look upon me the Commissary for Provisions. Then there are no servants for you, the foldiers must supply that Office. To conclude, where will you put your spare arms and baggagerand when you need fuch, whence will you be furnished? My opinion is to fail directly for Carchage, where there is a haven four miles and a half from it. called the Pool junguarded, and capable of a great fleet, from whence you may make the wan and eafily take Carthage. And then having wanquisht the enemy far from thence, mothing will be difficult nor dangerous to Conquerours. For naturally, the head once gon, the rest fals of it felf. These things you are to confider, and chuse the best.

After this speech , Belisarius began thus . Let none , fellow Commanders, think me to fit here a judge of what hath been spoken, nor to speak last, supposing my fentence necessarily to be followed. I have heard your opinions, and my part is to propound what I conceive, and together with you to chuse the belt. One thing you must remember, that the foldiers even profess to fear a fea-fight, and if the enemy come, to turn their backs to them. And in that cafe tit is foolish to pray to God for success, being afraid, and our selves procuring the contrary events of then we fail to Carehogo and encounter an enemies Navy hand our mendly from them, our counsel will be followed with repentance and complaints. A faral error admits some excuse, but this none. And if a Temped happen (which is most urged to fright us, and not well) and our ships be furthered (42 they say) on perish upon this coast: I pray which is less hurt, to have out thins cafe away alune, nor with them, all the reft of us to fall by the senemy a Befides, falling sportshe enemy unprovided; and not looking for us,

we may subdue him; but when he is armed and prepared, we shall hazard a war upon equal terms. Concerning the provision of necessaries, and how we shall put ashore, it is not now time to consult, nor enquire. Shall we stay for a tempest to fall upon our Navy in a sight (as often happens) and then begin to learn what to do? I think we ought forthwith to land, taking with us our horses, arms, and other needfull things; and presently to entrench our selves within a good Rampire (which will defend us as the strongest wall) and from thence make the war. And think not to want any thing, if we sight valiantly. Who vanquish their enemies, all they have is theirs; Victory brings all to that side it enclines to. In your swords therefore consists your safety, and aboundance.

All the Counsel easily consented to this, and rose; forthwith landing the Army, three months after their departure from Constantinople. The General chose by the sea-side, a place which both soldiers and mariners fortified with trench and rampire; and by multitude of hands concurring, and the General urging it was finished the same day. Digging the earth, they came to much water (a thing never before see in Byzacium, a dry Country) which supplyed men and beasts. Procopius congratulated with the General, not so much (as he said) for the water, as for the presage of an easie victory, which proved so indeed. That night the Army lodged in the Camp, set their watches, and did all as is usual. Only aboard every ship Belisarius appointed five Archers, and the light Gallies to lie round about them to prevent sodain mischief.

#### CHAP, XIII.

He next day some soldiers went up into the Country, and sole their ripe fruits, whom the General severely chastised; and calling the samy together, spake thus. To feed upon other mens goods by violence, is at all times wicked, because unjust; But now, setting the consideration of justice aside (though that were hard) it is so aboundantly inconvenient, that we must fear the danger: we are here put ashore with this only confidence, that the Africans being anciently Romans, are unfure, and ill affected to the Vandals. From this I did hope for supply of necessaries, and to avoid mischief from the enemy. But now your intemperance hath changed all to the contrary. You have reconciled the Africans to the Vandals, and turn'd their hatred upon your felves, (for wrong d men naturally hate them that do them the present violence; ) and so you have for a little gain now fold your future fafety, and plenty. By buying what you needed, you might have avoided the imputation of injustice, and made the owners your friends. Now you must have the war with Africans and Vandals too; 'nay with God himself; whose assistance no man can invoke, doing wrong. But give over this sharking, and quityour hands of a gain so full of hazard: The proper time now being, when sobriety must preferve us, and disorder will bring certain death. If you be carefull of these things, God will be propitious, the people of Africk well affected, and the Fandals easie to be dealt with.

After this speech, Belifarius sent Boraides, one of his life-guard, with some of his Targetiers, to Syllectus a sea-town in the way to Carthage, and a days journey from the Camp; whose Inhabitants, he heard, instead of their demolished walls, to have fortified each man his own house, to keep off the Moors, and so to have made a kind of Town wall. Boraides he instructed to attempt the Town, and taking it, to do no hurt, but with representing many conveniences, and how they come to set them at liberty, to get entrance for the Army. They about candles lighting getting near the Town, past the night in a deep bottom there; and the next morning overtaking some Peasants, they slipt into the Town with them, and possessit it, then without tumult, called the sishop, and principal of the Town; told them their Generals instructions, and immediately receiving the keys from them, sent the same to the General. The same day the Master of the Kings Posts revolted, and gave up all his horses. The General also took one of those

those that ride with the Kings Packets, which they call Veredarii, and did him no hurt, but took his oath to deliver fustinians Letters, written to the Vandats, into the hands of the Governours. Which signified thus. We make no war upon the Vandals, nor infring the Treaty with Genserick. But we end avour to free you from an usurper; who, disrespecting the Testament of Genserick, keeps your King in prison, and hath begun to destroy such of his bloud, whom he hated; and of the rest, hath put out their eyes, and imprisoned them, not suffering them to end their so rows by death. Assist we therefore to free you from so wicked Tyranny, that you may enjoy peace and liberty: which to observe to you, we make outh here to God. The man that took these Letters from Belisarius, durst not show them, but to some privat friends, and did nothing material.

#### CHAP. XIV.

But Belisarius marcht in order for a battel towards Carthage. He gave 300 for his Targetiers to John, who was the Steward of his houshold, whom the Romans call Optio; being an Armenian, and eminent for valour and discretion. Him he directed to march some two miles and a half before the Army, and to give warning, if they see an enemy, that the Army may prepare for fight. And to the left hand of the Army, he directed the Massageres to march. And himself was in the rear with his best men, looking for Gelimer to come shortly from Hermione. To the right hand was no fear, being to march by the fea-shore; and the feamen he commanded to keep them company, by letting down all their fails, but their sprit fail, in case of a strong gale; and in a calm, to force their way with oars. When they came to Syllectus, Belifarius had his foldiers most fober, not striking, nor using any disorder. And the Africans he so gained with his gentleness, that he marcht as in his own Country; the people not withdrawing themselves nor goods, but giving free market, and being very serviceable to the soldier. They marcht ten miles a day, till they came to Carthage, lodging still in a Town, or fafely in their Camp. We came by Lepta and Adrymettum to Graffa, about 43 miles from Carthage; where was a Palace of the Vandal Governor, and the fairest Gardens we ever saw; aboundantly watered with fountains; and with a large grove of trees loaded with ripe fruit, whereof the soldiers took their fill without any miss, every man setting his cabbin under a fruit-tree.

But Gelimer hearing the enemies arrival, wrote from Hermione to Carthage, to his brother Ammatas, to kill Ilderick, and the other prisoners of his bloud, and otherwise appertaining to him; and himself to orm the Vandals, and fuch forces as he had in the City; and at the narrow passage near a town called Detimum, to charge the enemy on both fides, and fo to catch him as in a net. maras accordingly killed Ilderick, and his cousin Evagees: Hoamer was dead before. He armed also the Vandals, to fally in the due time. Gelimer followed us close; and one night only, as we lodged in Graffa, he gave us an alarm; upon some skirmishing of our scouts with theirs; by whose returning to the Camp, we understood the enemy to be near. From hence marching, we lost fight of our thips, being put to go about some high rocks there, and a Promontory under which stands Mercurium. Belifarius sent word to Archelaus the Commissary, not to put in at Carthage, but to flay 25 miles short, till he send for them. From Graffa the fourth day we came to Decimum, about 8 miles from Carthage. This day Gelimer fent his Nephew, Gibamumdus, before with 2000 Vandals, to march to our left hand; that so Ammatas from Carthage, himself in our rear, and Giba-

mundus at our left hand, charging together, might compais us.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XV.

Or my part, I could not but wonder in this battel to fee, how God knowing the event, draws out the model thereof to his own will; and how men are ignorant whether they mistake, or whether they be upon a right counsel; that a way fo may be made to the fuccess before determined. If Belisarius had not commanded John to advance before the Army, and the Massagetes to march at our left hand, we could not have escaped the Vandals. And for all this, the Vandals could not have been fo ruined, if Ammatas had not come to Decimum about noon, three hours sooner then his time, we being then farr short of it, and the Vandals Army alfo. And this was not all his fault. He came with a few, and those not of his best, to encounter John, leaving the main body in Carthage, with direction to come after to Decimum. He killed 12 good men of ours in the head of Johns troops, but himself fell, having shewn much valour; and being fallen, the rest were routed, and running away, turned the whole body marching from Carthage; who being in no order to fight, but in small parties of thirty and twenty together, and feeing Ammatas troops running, and imagining multitudes pursuing, ran back for company. Whom Johns Troops killed up to the gates of Carthage: And so great was the execution of that 8 miles, that one would have guest it the work of 20000 men at least. Gibamundus at the same time, and his 2000 men, came to the Sale plains, five miles from Decimum, on the left hand of the way to Garchage, a place without men or trees, or ought else (the faltness of the water hindring the grouth of any thing but salt;) here falling upon the Mas. Sagetes, they perisht every man. Among the Massagetes was a man valiant and strong, but Captain of a few; who had a priviledge from his ancestors, in all encounters to charge first; and no Massagete to shoot or strike till he began the fight.

This man rode up close to the Vandals Army; who either amazed with his daring, or suspecting some plot of the enemy, stirred not so much as to shoot at him; fearing (it may be) to venture, hearing the Massagetes to be a warlick Nation, and having never feen their manner of fighting. But he returning, told his Countrymen, that God had fent them those strangers ready drest; So they gave on furiously, and the Vandals breaking their ranks, and not resisting, basely perisht every man. We without hearing these accidents, marcht towards Decimum. And Belifarins, in a convenient place, some four miles from Decimum, fortified an entrenchment, and placed his foot in it; and then made this speech to the Army. 'Now, fellow Soldiers! is come the time of our tryal. Our enemies, I hear, are marching towards us; and our ships, by the scituation of the place, are severed from us; and now our only hope of safety is in our swords; having neither Town nor Fortress to be bold upon. If we now do valiantly, we shall in likelyhood subdue our enemies; but if we faint, nothing remains, but to be beaten, and perish by the enemy: Advantages for victory we have : First, We fight for the possession of that which in right is ours; then do the Vandals hate their own usurping Tyrant . and commonly God affifts the rightfull cause; and the foldier ill affected to his Prince, never fights valiantly for him. Belides, we have spent our time against Persians and Scythians; but the Vandals, since their Conquest of Africa, have seen no enemy but naked Moors. Now, in every Trade practife breeds skill, and disusage ignorance. Our Entrenchment from whence we are to make the war, is finished; where leaving our arms which we cannot carry, and baggage, we may fallie, and retiring, find what we need. I entreat therefore every man to think upon his reputation, and the pledges he hath

left at home, and fo undanted to encounter the enemy.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Belisaries having thus spoken, and said a prayer, leaving the guard of his wife and the Camp to the soot, he sallied with his horse. He thought not good to hazard with the whole Army, but first to skirmish with his horse, and try the enemy, then to give battel with the main; so he sent the Confederates before, and followed with the reft, and with his own Lanciers and Targetiers. The Confederates being come to Decimum, found the bodies of the 12 companions of John; and close by them the body of Ammata, and some other Vandals. Being in doubt, and not knowing whether to go further; and from a hil discovering round, they faw a duft, and foon after a great troop of Vandals. They fent to Belifarin to come speedily, the enemy being upon them; and the Commanders, some urged to charge the enemy, others alleadged their forces not sufficient. While they were disputing, the Barbarians came up close, with Gelimer in the head of them; having passed between the way where Belifarin went, and that where the Masagetes, who had fought with Gihamnndus; but the hilly ground between, hindred their fight of Belifarims or his entrenchment, and of the defeat of Gibumundus. Being near, each contended to possess the highest down, which seemed apt for an entrenchment. The Vandals running hard, gained the down, and grown terrible, routed the enemy. The Romans ran away to a Town less then a mile from Decimam, where was Uliaris, one of Belifarins his life-guard, and 800 of his Targetiers. The Vandal's Raid their course, thinking that Uliaris would stand them; but his troops, fo foon as the other began to charge, fled amain to Belifarim. It was strange, that Gelimer having thus the victory in his hands, should vo-luntarily quitit: But God, when he wil have a mischief befall a man, infects his reason, not suffering the most expedient things to come into his mind. If he had followed the execution, Belisarius himself had not stood him, but we had al been absolutely ruined; so great seemed the number of the Vandals, and the Romans fear. Or if he had rode on to Carthage, he had killed the troops of John, every man, (who were carelessly scattered, and risling the dead bodies) and had saved the City, and been Master of our ships, and cut off all our hope, either of victory or return home ! But he did neither; but riding foftly down the hill, and in the plain, finding his brothers dead body, he fpent the time in lamentations, and about the funeral, and thus lost his opportunity, which he could never recover.

Belisarin Rope his flying men, chiding them; and hearing of the death of Ammatas , and the brave execution of John; and informed sufficiently of the place and the enemy, he marched against Gelimer and the Vandals : who being in diforder, and unprepared, ran away amain, with the loss of many, (the execution lasting till night) and fled not to Carthage, nor Byzacium, from whence they came, but toward the plains of Bule, and the way to Numidia. About evening, John, and the Mussagers also came to us; and relating, and hearing the several adventures, lodged with us that night in Decimum,

#### OHAP. XVII.

The next day our foot coming up, with Belifarim his wife, we marcht toward Carehoge, and arriving within night, lodged abroad near the City. No man would have opposed our entrance; the Carehoginians opening their gates, and the City shining all night with lights and bonfires; and the Vandals remaining, were shed into the Churches. But Belisarius feared in the night some ambush, and the sodiers disorder, lest in the dark they might fall to pillage. The same day also the fleet came up to the Promontory, and the Carthaginians had opened the iron Chain

Chain of Mandracium their haven, to let it in. In the Palace is a dark prison, called Ancon, (or the Elbow) for such as the Tyrant was offended with. Here at that rime were many Eastern Merchants, whom the Tyrant accused to sollicite the Emperour to invade him; and the same day that Ammaras was slain

in Decimum, he had given order for their execution.

The keeper of the prison hearing the accident at Decimum, and seeing the fleet within the Promontory, went to the men (who had heard nothing, but sate in the dark expecting death) and askt them what they would give to be saved from thence. They promising to pay any thing, he said, he would none of their money, but prayed them to swear, if they escaped, and he came into danger, to assist him to their power; they did so. And he taking out a board, shewed them the

fleet failing in, and then fet them lofe, and went along with them.

The fleet first doubted, hearing nothing; then sending to Mercurium, they were advertised of all, and with great joy sailed on with a strong gale. Which bringing them within 18 miles of Carthage, Archelam; and the land-men, commanded to cast anchor, according to the Generals instructions. But the Mariners alleadged the coast to be without harbour, and that there was likely hood of a storm, which kind of storms the natives call Cyprians; which falling in that place, they should not be able to save a ship. And so it was indeed: Wherefore striking sail, and consulting; they thought not sit to attempt the haven of Mandracium, fearing to break Belisarius's direction, and suspecting Mandracium to be chained up, and besides, not able to hold the whole sleet; but they thought the Pool to be for their purpose (being but sive miles from Carthage, and capable of the whole sleet) and to find there no stop. So coming thither about evening, they cast anchor, all, save Calonymus, with some mariners; who not regarding the General, put into Mandracium, and there robbed some Merchants, strangers,

and Carthaginians, dwelling upon the fea-fide.

The next day Belifarius commanded the men a ship-board to land, and with the Army, in order of battel, rode towards Carthage, fearing the enemies ambushes. Here he put the foldiers in mind of their good fortunes since their moderation to the Africans; admonishing them to continue their good order, especially in Carthage; That the Africans were formerly Roman subjects, and unwillingly brought under the Vandals, from whom they had fuffered abominable things; That for this, the Emperour made war with the Vandals; and that it were impious now to abuse them, whose liberty was the cause of this expedition. Then he entred Carthage, none oppoling; went to the Palace, and fate down in Gelimers Throne. Here the Merchants, and the other Carebaginians, who dwelt upon the fea, came in a multitude, and with clamour to Belifarius, complaining that Mariners the last night had robbed them of all they had. He made Calonymus swear to produce the goods; but he neglecting his oath, went away with the goods then; but afterward at Constantinople, by a terrible judgement, he fell mad, bit out his own tongue, and died. Belifarius then commanded his dinner to be , where Gelimer used to feast his great men. The Romans from the Greeks, call the place Delphica, from a three-footed Table standing in the Palace at Rome, upon which the Emperours Cup-bearers fet the cups; which they call Delphica (a three-footed table, and first used at Delphos) and so in Confrantinople; and wheresoever the Emperours Table stands, they call the room Delphica. The Emperours house also they call Palatium, of one Pallas a Grecian, who dwelt in that place before the fack of Troy, and built in it a good handsome house; where Angustm, having got the Empire, first lodged, and thence they called the Emperours house the Palace. Thus Belifaring dined in the Delphica, and with him the Commanders of the Army. The day before, a dinner was provided for Gelimer, and we feasted upon the meats. Gelimers servants brought in our dinner, filled our wine, and in all things else attended us. Here a man might see fortune in her bravery; shewing all things to be hers, and that none can call any thing his own. And that day Belisarin attained a glory, which never happened in his own time, nor to any of the ancients. For the foldiers using not to enter, no not into any Roman City, and but 500 together, without some disorder, specially upon the sodain: This General had his men in such or-

aer,

der, that there was not the least insolence or menace used. There was no interruption of Trade; but in a City newly taken, in a state changed, and upon the alteration of their King, not an Officer of Justice had his house shut up. The publick notaries dispatcht their writings at the Courts, and took the soldiers home with them, as is the manner; and the soldiers bought what they liked in the market place, using no unquietness.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Hen Belisarius gave affurances to the Vandals fled into the Churches; and took care of the walls of Carthage, which had been so neglected, that in many places they were easily to be mounted, and a great part was quite faln down; which, the Carthaginians told us, caused Gelimer not to stay in the City; as not able in so thort a time to secure the walls. We heard also of an old Prophesie, that had been among the boys in Carthage. That Gamma should expell Beta; and again Beta should expell Gamma. It was then accounted as an idle riddle among sporting boys; but now it was clear; for Genferick expelled Bonifacius, and now Belifariss Gelimer. Then also the meaning of a dream was manifested, which many had dreamt, and often; not guessing at the event, The Carthaginians, above all, reverence St. Cyprian and by the sea-side have dedicated a Church to him close to the City, where they use many devotions, and yearly celebrate a feast which they call Cypriana; and from thence those storms I mentioned, are named which happenedlabout that feastival. This Church, in the reign of Honoricus, the Vandals got, forcing out the Christians and their Priests with much indignity; and officiating there themselves, as now appertaining to the Arrians. The Africans being much grieved at this, they fay St. Cyprian often appeared to many in their dreams, and bad the Christians not be earefull for him; he would be his own revenger. Which faying being divulged; the Africans expected the time of punishment upon the Vandals for these devotions; but guest not at the event But now, the Feast being to be the next day, and the Arrian Priests having made clean the Church, hung out their fairest reliques, prepared the lamps, brought out their treasures, and fitted every thing for the proper use. When they heard of the overthrow of Ammatas at Decimum, away they all ran. And the Orthodox Christians came to the Church, lighted the lamps, and officiated according to their own rites. And fo the prediction of that vision was known also. The Vandals likewise remembred an antient story, and wondring acknowledged, that to man no expectation is impossible; nor no possession firm. The story was this. That when the Vandals were forced by a famin, to for fake their ancient native Country, yet some staid, having no mind to follow Godigischu. They in time came to have plenty, and Genserick with his followers got Africk. Which they were glad to hear, who followed not Godigifelm, finding their Country now able to feed them. And they feared left their African Plantators or their posterity, might in time come home upon them again, expelled by the Romans, who (they doubted) would not always neglect that Province. So they fent Ambassadors to Genferick, who said unto him, 'That they congratulated their Countrymens great prosperity, but were no more able to guard their own 'Country; which they despising, had planted themselves in Africk. Wherefore they prayed them, if they make no account of their native foil, to bestow on them a possession to themselves useless. That so being absolute proprietaries of the Country, they might chearfully spend their lives for it against any invader-Genserick and the Vandals, thought this just, and yielded to the Ambassadors defire. But an old man among them, esteemed very wise, said, He would never con-fent to it; for among men is nothing setled upon a sure foundation; there is no firm 'and perpetual estate in what they have; nor in what they have not, impossibility. Genferick approved his faying, and fent away the Ambassadors with a demial: and was then laught at, and his old Counsellor, for foreseeing things impossible. But

But upon these accidents I have related, the Vandals were better instructed in humane affairs, and found it the speech of a wise man. Of those Vandals that staid in their own Countrey, there is no memorial lest. They were few, and either forced under some bordering Barbarians, or wis singly mingled, and their names drowned in the other. And these subdued by Belisarius, had no thought of going to their antient Country, having no means sodainly to pass into Europe, specially their ships being gone. But in Africk, they were punished for the mischiefs done the Romans; chiefly the Zacynthians: For Genserick, infesting formerly Peloponessis, and attempting Tenarus, but repulsed with loss of many men, and put to a shamefull retreat; being angry, set upon Zacynthus, killed many, made captives of 500 principal men, and then sailed away; and in the middle of the Adrianique sea, cut those 500 men in pieces, and scattered their pieces in the Sea. This was formerly.

#### CHAP. XIX.

But now Gelimer by mony and courteous usage, gained many African pea-fants to undertake the killing of such Romans as they found stragling; and he proclaimed a fum of gold upon every killing to the actor. Many flaves and attendants upon the Army were flain, piffring in the Villages, and their heads were brought to Gelimer, for which the peafants were well paid by him, supposing to have been rid of so many soldiers. About this time Diogenes, one of Belisarius his life-guard, did very bravely ; who fent him out with 22 of his Targetiers to discover the enemy. These men, at a Town two days journy from Carthage, the peafants being not able of themselves to kill them, advertised Gelimer. Who sent against them 300 horse, with direction to bring them alive; he thought it a great matter to have one of Belifarius his life-guard, and 22 of his Targetiers his prisoners. Diogenes and his company entred one of the houses, and in an upper chamber went to bed, hearing the enemy to be farr enough off. The Vandals came after midnight, and thought it not good to force into the dores in the night, rearing in the dark they might kill one another, and open a passage out for the enemy. Cowardise dul'd their wits; for by using fire, or without it, they might have with eafe taken them, being naked in their beds. So they put themselves in rank round about the house, and chiefly at the dore. In the mean time a Roman soldier waked, and hearing the noise ( some Vandals murmuring to one another, and stirring their arms) he guest the matter, waked his companions, and softly told them the accident. They, by Diogenes direction, quietly put on their cloaths, cook their arms, went down, and bridling their horses, got up unespied. And after a flort stay in the Court, suddenly they open the dores and fally. The Vandals charged them, but the Romans warding with their shields, and with their javelins keeping off the affailants, rode away clear; with loss only of two men. Diogenes himself had three wounds, one in the neck, into the face another, of which he was within a little of dying; and one upon his left hand, by which he loft the use of his little finger. But in Carthage, Belisarius with mony got artificers, and labourers, and made a Trench, and strong Palissadoes round about the walls; and in short time repaired also the decaies thereof; a work much admired by the Carthaginians, and afterward by Gelimer, being brought thither prisoner. Who wondring at the walls, faid, that his negligence therein had been the cause of his present condition.

In the mean time Trazon, the brother of Gelimer, arrived with his fleet in Sardinia, at the Port of Carnalis; took the Town at the first charge, and slew Godas and his soldiers, and hearing that the Emperours fleet was upon the coast of Africk; but not what was done, he wrote this Letter to Gelimer. Know O King of Vandals and Alans, that Godas she Wimper is stain by sm and the Island again under your Empires. Keep therefore a festival of Victory; And hope that the county who pre-sums, which they had farmerly,

when

when they invaded our Ancestors. The bearers of these Letters sailed into the haven of Carchage without thought of an enemy, and by the watch being brought to the General; delivered the Letters; and revealed their negotiation; amazed to see the sudden change. But from Belisarius they had no hard usage.

About the same time this happened also. Before the coming of our seet, Gelimer had sent Gotthem, and Fnscim, and other Ambassadors to Thendis, Prince of the Visigoths in Spain, for a league. Who being past the straits, found that Thendis was at a Town far from the sea. When they can e to him, he feasted them with much courtesse, and askt them at the feast, how things were with Gelimer and the Vandals. He had heard all before the Ambassadors coming slowly) from a Merchants ship which parted from Carehage the same day the Romans entred it, and with a fair wind arrived in Spain. And he had forbidden the Merchants to divulge it. But now when Gotthem and his sellows answered him, that all was well, he demanded about what they came? They propounding a League, Thendis bad them go to the sea-side; and there you shall know certainly your affairs at home. The Ambassadors taking it for the idle speech of a man in drink, replyed not. But the next day again propounding the League, and again Thendis using the same words, they thought there was some alteration in Africk; but not imagining any thing of Carehage, they sailed thither, and landing near it, sell among the soldiers, and yielded; and were brought to the General, and told him their business, and had no hurt from him.

#### CHAP. XX.

Craillus allocame to Sardinia; but hearing what was become of Godas, he failed to Carthage; where he found Bellarius and the Roman Army victo.

rious. Solomon was fent to the Emperour to relate the successes.

Gelimer in the Plains of Bule, near the Frontier of Numidia, four days journey from Carthage, gathered together the Vandale, and such Moors as were his friends; being sew, and without Government. For the Rulers of the Moors of Mauritania, Numidia and Byzacium, sent Ambassadors to Belisarius, to profess their service to the Emperour, and to promise to joyn with him. Some of them sent their sons for hostages, and desired him to send them their Ensignes of Principality, according to the ancient custom; which was, that none might rule Moors, before he had those Ensignes sent by the Emperour, though he were an enemy to the Romans; And having them now from the Vandals, they thought not their Government sirm. The Ensignes are, a silver Rod gilt, a silver Cap, not covering the whole head, but like a Garland, and kept upright with silver wire round about: A white Mantle also, sastened with a golden safe over the right shoulder, in the manner of a Thessalian Mantle: A white Robe embroidered, and a gilt shoe. Belisarius sent all these unto them, and mony also, but they did not joyn with him, nor yet durst stand for the Vandals, but kept aloof, watching the event of the war.

Gelimer also sent a Vandal into Sardinia, with a Letter to his brother Tzazon, containing this It was not Godas surely, but some mischief from heaven upon su, that put that Island into rebellion; which thereby deprived us of you, and our best Vandals, and in sum, swept away the prosperity of Gensericks house: Tou went not from hence to recover that Island, but that Justinian might be Lord of Africk. We understand by the events, what Fortune then determined. Belisarius came upon su but with a small Army: But the Vandals valour presently ran away, with our good fortune. Ammatas and (ibamundus are lost by the Vandals cowardise. Our horses, ships, all Africk, may Carthage it self are in our enemies hands; while the Vandals sit down with the loss of their wives and children, and estates, having sought poorly. We have nothing lest but the Plains of Bule; where the hope we have in you hath put us, and stilkness us. So that leaving any farther to usure, and quitting Sardinia, and those cares, come speedily unto us with your whole seet. It is inconvenient for

men in hazard for the main, to quillet about the rest. And combating our enemies together, we shall either recover our former fortune, or gain this, not to suffer without one another.

Transon, when he had perused this Letter, and imparted it to the Vandals, they howled and lamented concealing it from the Islanders; but between themselves bewailing in silence their present estate. And forthwith disposing the businesses at random, they went all to sea; with the whole siet, and the third day landed in Africk; upon the Frontiers of Numidia and Manritania. Thence they marche a foot to the Plains of Bule, and joyned to the rest of the Army. There were many sad rencontres then among the Vandals, not to be exprest, and such as an enemy would have pittied to look on, and see the condition of mankind. Gelimer and Trazon sallen on each others neck, could not let go. They said nothing, but grasping each others hand, howled. The like did the others, embracing those who came from Sardinia; and a long time they enjoyed that contentment: And were so amazed at the present fortune, that what was important before, was not now thought upon; Gelimer not enquiring concerning Godas, nor Trazon of the passages in Africk, Which he might conjecture by the place they were now in. Neither was there speech of wives or children; they perceiving well, that what was not here, was certainly dead, or a prisoner with the enemy.

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## HISTORY

OF THE

# WARS

Of the Emperour

## IVSTINIAN:

BOOK II.

Of the War with the Vandals.

#### CHAP. I.



UT Gelimer conducted the Army of Vandals, being now all come together against Carshage: where he cut off the Cities Aquaduct encamped a while, and no enemy sallying, retired. They quartered themselves in the neighbouring Towns, and thought to block up the City so, setting guards upon the high-ways. They used no spoyl nor pillage, assuming the Country as their own; and expecting some Treason by the Carthaginians, and such Roman

delices as were Arrians. With large promises also, they invited the Commanders of the Hunns to be their friends and confederates: They, who were disaffected to the Romans, alleadging that Peter, the Roman General, had brought them to Constantinople against their wills, and contrary to his express oath. So they entertained the motion, and agreed in the battel to turn their powers against the Romans. Of all this Belisarius had some suspicion, by relation of some suspicions.

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gitives;

gitives; and the walls being not wholly finished, he would not fally, but accommodated all things within. He crucified one Lanrus a Carthaginian, for Treason, upon a hillock before the City, convinced by his own Secretary; which frighted the rest from the like attempts. The Massagetes courting with gifts, and invitations to his table, and other complements, at last he got out of them what Geli-mer had promised them, to turn cowards in the battel; and indeed that they had no mind to fight, fearing that, the Vandals being overthrown, the Romans would not dismiss them to their own Country, but wear them out in Africk; and befides, take their booty from them. Belifarins fware to them, that they should be fear home to foon as the Vandals were absolutely overthrown, with all their booty; and bound them by oath to aid us with all alacrity. Then, all things being well prepared he spake thus to the Army. 'To use exhortations of courage to 'you, may feem needless fellow-soldiers! who have already so vanquishe the enemy, that ( arthage and all Africk is the purchase of your valour : and Vi-Hors never have faint hearts. But it is not unfeafonable to put you in mind, that fighting bravely now the Vandals will have an end of their hopes, and we of fighting. You ought then chearfully and with pleasure to enter into this 'combat; being to be the period of your labouts: And let none speak of the Vandals multitude; which uses not to determine wars, but mens valour. Let the most powerfull thing among men, a sense of reputation upon your former actions affect you: it being a shame for men in their wits, to grow worse, and to lessen their own virtue. The enemy their sear, and remembrance of missortunes will make cowards; the one frighting with things past, the other expelling hope of victory; ill fortune ever instantly dejecting mens spirirs. fides, our combat is for greater things. If the former fight had succeeded ill, our danger had been, not to conquer anothers Country: But now we lose that which is our own, if we be not victorious. So that our fear is so much the greater, as it is less to purchase nothing, then to lose what one bath. got'a victory without our Foot; but now with our whole Army I hope we shal get the enemies Camp, men, and all they have. You have in your hands the conclusion of this war; if you neglect it, and put off opportunity, you will feek it when tis gone. Fortune despised, stops; especially if the judgements be improved of those she favoured not before. That Goddess hates such as squander away their prosperity. And if any man imagine that the fight of the enemies wives and children, and most precious things, will make them dare even beyond power, he errs. Anger about things so dear, weakens minds excessively affected, and suffers them not to make due use of occasions. All which taking into our confideration, let us undaunted march against the enemy.

Having thus encouraged them, he sent out all his horse that day, save 500. and to John the Armenian he gave his own Targetiers and Ensigne, (which the Romans call Bandum) commanding him to skirmish upon occasion. Himself with the foot, and 500 horse followed. The Hunns were determined to keep their accords with Gelimer and Belisarius too, and to begin no fight for the Romans, nor before it to turn to the Vandals; but upon the victory of either, to follow the execution upon the vanquished. The Roman Army found the Vandals encamped at Tricamazus, about 17 miles from Carthage, and lodged not far from them. Where about midnight, fires were seen upon the Romans spears, and the heads thereof red hot; and the sew who saw this Prodigie were amazed, not knowing what the event would be. But the same happening long afterward in Italy, they took it upon experience for a signe of victory. But then it happening first,

they were troubled, and past the night in fear.

#### CHAP, II.

He next day Gelimer placed the Vandals wives and children, and all their wealth, in the midst of the Trench, though unfortified; and calling them together, spake thus. 'We strive not now, dear Countrymen! about loss of honor, or Empire; as if by cowardly abandoning these, we might live quietly at home, and hold our estates. Fortune hath turn'd us now to this point, either to conquer our enemies, or to leave them masters of our wives, and children, Country, and all our wealth; and the only advantage of our escaping will be to beslaves, and beholders of these things. But if we vanquish we shall live in prosperity, and after an honorable death, leave our Families happy, and preferve the Vandals name and Empire. If ever men fought a battel for all they have, and for the hopes of all men, we are they. Our fear and danger now, is not to die; but not to vanquish our enemies: which failing, only death is good for us. Let none of you therefore faint, but couragiously abandon his person; affecting death rather, then the base miseries of a defeat. He that is ashamed to be base, sears no dangers. Think not upon the former fight, wherein not our cowardife, but some cross fortune tript us; whose stream holds not always the same course, but changes every day. In valour we presume to have the advantage; and in numbers we exceed our enemies by ten times as many men. Then have we many, and great provocations to valour. The glory of our ancestors, ashamed of our degenerating, and the Empire they left us, protesting to fortake us, if unworthy. Then to fee the howlings of these women, and these weeping children, even stops my speech, with the extream grief: so that I will only say this: That these our gearest pledges we shall never more tee, if we vanquish not our enemies. Consider it, and be valiant, and do not deface the glory of Genferick,

Having thus said, he commanded his brother Tzazon particularly to animate his soldiers, that came from Sardinia; who assembling them some space from the camp, spake thus. 'Fellow soldiers! The generality of Vandals are to combat for what you have heard from the King: but you are moreover to strive with your own selves. Lately sighting for dominion, and to recover the Island, you overcame. Now you hazard in the greatest things you have, and must use your greatest courage. Who sight for dominion, and are vanquished, are not ruined in the main: But sighting for all, their lives depend upon the conclusion of the battel. And if you be valiant to day, the deposition of Godas will clearly appear an effect of your valour; but if now you faint, you will lose the reputation also of that action. And we have the advantage over the rest; terrissed with their former deseat; we being unvanquisht, and sighting with a courage untainted. Then will the greatest part of the garland of victory be yours, you will be called the Preservers of the Vandal Nation: for by winning in company of mensormerly unfortunate, you will appropriate to your selves the better fortune. Upon these considerations you may do well to stint the howling of your women and children, and calling God to your assistance, to march

'boldly against the enemy in the head of your Countrymen.

Gelimer and Tzazon, after these exhortations, drew them out; and about noon came on (the Romans being preparing their dinners) and stood in order upon the banks of the brook there. On the other bank the Romans put also in order thus; The left wing Martinus, Valerianus, John, Cyprian, Althins, and Marcellus had, and the other Commanders of Confederates: The right wing Pappus, Barbaius, and Aigan, and the Captains of the Legionary horse. In the midst stood John, with the Generals Lanciers, and Ensigne; and thither in the due season came Belisarius himself, seaving the foot behind, marching fair and softly. The Hunns who used before not to mingle their ranks with the Roman Army, then stood aloof, with the intention I have said. The Vandals order was,

to distribute each wing among the Colonels of thousands, every one leading his proper Regiment : And in the middle stood Tzazon; and in the rear the Moors. Gelimer himself rode about from place to place, to encourage his soldiers: Whom he warned in this fight, not to use Javelins, nor any weapons but their swords. It was long ere they began. Then John, by Belisarius his direction, with a few chosen men, passed the brook, and charged those in the middle; where Tzazon repulsed him back towards the main Army, pursuing him to the brooks fide, but not going over. Again John drawing out more Targetiers of Belifarim, rode against Tzazon; and being again repulsed, retired. He renewed the charge the third time, with almost all Belisarim his Targetiers and Lanciers, and the Generals Enfigne, shouting and clashing their arms. The Barbarians valiant. ly received them, using their swords only; and the fight grew stiff, where many Vandals, and of the best, were slain, and Trazon himself. Then came on the whole Roman Cavalry, and passing the brook, charged the enemy. And the defeat, beginning in the middle, appeared clearly; each one routing their opposites with ease. Which the Massageres perceiving, according to their resolution they followed the execution with the Roman Army, which lasted not long; the Vandals recovering their Camp; and the Romans not holding themselves able to fight with them in their entrenchment, stript such dead bodies as had any gold upon them, and retired to their Camp. In this fight were flain of Remans 5c. and of Vandals 800. But Belifarius about the evening (his foot being come up) marcht with his whole Army to the Vandals Camp Gelimer feeing Belifarius with his foot, and all marching, without one word speaking, or giving any direction, leapt on horseback and fled the way into Numidia; his kinfmen, and fome few houshold fervants following him, amazed, and concealing what it was for. Some time the Vandals knew not of Gelimers flight; but when they found it, and faw the enemy, the men were in a tumult; the women howled, the children cryed; none fought to fave their goods, nor regarded the lamentations of their dearest friends; But every man in confusion ran away. The Romans took the Camp, with all the wealth in it, and destitute of men: And following the chase all night, killed the men they overtook, and made slaves of the women and children. They found in the Camp so great a mass of wealth, as was never together in a place. For the Vandals had long ransackt the Roman Provinces, and brought much wealth into Africk; which being also good land, and most plentifull of all commodities; the revenues in mony were not spent in other Countrys, but put up by the owners for the space of 95 years, in which the Vandals had the dominion of Africk. From whence their wealth now grown into a great bulk, was that day restored to the Romans. This overthrow, and taking the Vandals Camp, happened three months after the coming of the Roman Army to Carthage, in the middle of December.

An.Dom. 533. Just. 70.

### CHAP. III.

Dit Belisarius was troubled to see the Romans disorder, and all night was afraid, less the Vandals making head again, might ruine them. If they had come, not one Roman had escaped to enjoy their booty. For the soldiers, being of a sudden become masters of so great wealth, and of personages extreamly beautifull, could not contain, nor find any satiety in their booty. They were drunk with their prosperity, and would have every man returned to Carthage, carrying all along with them. And they stragled by one and by two, as their hope of gain led them, searching in woods and sastnesses, and in caves and such places, subject to danger, and ambushes, fearing no enemy, nor respecting Belisarius; being affected with nothing but the desire of booty. Which Belisarius seeing, he knew not what order to take. And so soon as it was day, he stood upon a hillock by the high way, calling upon themsor order, and chiding the soldiers and commanders, such as came that way, sent their booty and captives with their Comrades to Carthage; and themselves repaired to the General, and obeyed his directions. He

commanded John the Armenian, to follow Gelimer without intermission, and to take him alive or dead. And he wrote to his friends in Carthage, to take the Vandals out of the Churches in Towns thereabout, giving them affurances, and to difarm them that they might not ftir, and to keep them fafe in the City till his coming. With the troops he had, he went about recollecting the Army, and giving affurances to fuch Vandals as he found, there being none but in Churches; whom he disarmed, and sent under guards to Carthage, giving them no time to make head. All being setled, he marcht with the rest of his Army against Gelimer. John following the chace five days together; came very near to Gelimen; who being not ordained to be taken by John, this cross chance happened. Atmong the pursuers with John, was one Vliaris, a Lancier of Belisaris; valiane, and of an able body; but not ferious, his greatest delight being wine, and jests. The fixth day of their pursuit, being in drink, he spied about Sun-rifing a bird upon a tree, and let fly an arrow at it. He mift the bird; but fhot John behind in the neck; who foon after dyed of the wound; leaving a great miss both to the General and Emperour, and all, both Romans and Carthaginians. He was a valiant, and a virtuous man, and bore himself mildly and moderately to all men. Thus John the Armenian died. But Uliaris coming to himself, fled into the Church of a Village near hand; And the foldiers pursued no further, but attended the cure of John; and being dead, performed his funeral rites, and acquainted Belifaring with the accident, staying in the place : Who came immediately to the Sepulchre, mourning the misfortune, and honoured the same with a yearly Revenue, and many other things. To Vliaris he did no harm, hearing from the foldiers that John had made them swear that he should not be punished for the fact, being unwittingly done. Thus Gelimer escaped his enemies hands that day. Belifarius still pursued tim; and at Hippo Regia, a City upon the fea in Numidia, ten days journy from Carthage, he learnt how he was gone up to the mountain of Pappua, and not possible to be taken. This mountain is steep, and very ill way; high rocks standing round about it. In it inhabit Barbarian Moors, friends and confederates of Gelimer; and on the utmost border of it, stands an antient City, named Medenos. Here Gelimer with his company rested. But Belifarius being not able to attempt the mountain in the winter; and holding it unfafe to be absent from Carthage, the state being unsetled, he left Pharas with some forces to beliege the mountain. This Pharas was a valiant, prudent, and virtuous man, though an Herulian. And for an Herulian not to be false, and a drunkard, but to pretend to virtue, is rare, and much to be commended. But he was both himself an affecter of discipline, and all the Herulians that followed him. Belifarim commanded him to he all the winter at the foot of the hill, exactly guarding, that neither Gelimer get down, nor have provisions brought to him.

Then taking the Vandals out of the Churches in Hippo, upon his faith given them (being of the best) he sent them with a guard to Carthage: and he had this fortune here. One Bonifacius an African of Byzacium, Secretary to Gelimer; was by Gelimer furnished with a good ship, having in it all the royal treafores; and he was commanded to lie at anchor in the Port of Hippo; and if he faw the affairs go ill, to fail with the mony to Thendis, Prince of the Vifigoths in Spain; where himse f, upon the ruine of the Vandals, intended to save himself. Bonifacins staid, while there was any hope; but hearing of the battel of Tricamarus, and the rest formerly related, he hoists sail according to Gelimers appointment: But a contrary wind brought him back into the Port of Hippo: and underflanding the enemy to be near, he wooed the Mariners with large promises, to get to some other Land. But they could not, a storm coming, and the Tyrrhene sea being grown high; so they resolved, that God certainly meant to give the Romans that treasure, not suffering them to put to sea: and with much adoe getting clear of the harbour, they lay off at sea in some danger. Bonifacius sent to Belifarin, being come to Hippo, some whom he directed to get into a Church; faying that they were fent by Bontfaeius, who had Gelimers Treasures; but conceating where he was, before oath given; that delivering the Treasures, he shall have no hurt done him, but keep fuch moneys as are his own. They performed

these directions. And Belisarins glad of the news, made no scruple to swear: But sent some who received the Treasures, and dismissed Bonifacins with his own moneys, having stollen a mass of wealth from Gelimer.

#### CHAP. IV.

Being returned to Carthage, he made the Vandal prisoners ready to fend to Constantinople with the first of the spring; and sent forces to take in what had been under the Vandals: and to Sardinia Cyrillus, with the head of Tzazon; the Islanders not yet yielding, nor believing the report of the Vandals il fortune at Tricamarus. And he directed him to send part of his forces to take in Corsica (antiently called Cyrnus) not far from Sardinia, which had been under the Vandals also, Cyrillus accordingly shewed the head of Tzazon to the Islanders of Sardinia, and

made both the Islands tributary.

Belisarius sent also John with the soot company under his leading, unto Casarea in Mauritania, being 30 days journey from Carthage, in the way to Caliz and Hercules Pillars; and apopulous maritine City. Another John, one of his targetiers, he sent to the Straits of Caliz, to posses the Castle of Septum, one of the Pillars. To the Isles of Ebusa, Majorica, and Minorica, he sent Apollinarius, an Italian, who went young into Africk; and there being grown rich by the bounty of Ilderick, after his deposing and imprisonment, he went a sutor for Ilderick to Justinian, with some other Africans. And in this voyage with the Romans he did valiantly, and at Tricamarus the best of any. For which service Belisarius gave him the command of those Islands. He re-enforced also the Romans under Pudentius and Tattimuth in Tripolis, the Moors pressing fore upon them. He sent some likewise to receive the Castle at Lisybaum in Sicily, as belonging to the Vandals dominion, but was repulsed by the Goths, resulting to yeeld any part of Sicily, and denying the Castle to have been the Vandals.

Whereupon he wrote thus to the Governours there! You deprive us of Lilybaum, a Castle of the Vandals, the Emperours slaves; wherein you deal both unjustly and unwisely, without your Princes mind and privisis, to put the Emperour into a war with him, whose favour he hath so laboured to purchase. How strange a proceeding is it, to suffer Gelimer to hold the Castle, and from the Emperour, Gelimers Master, to take away his slaves possessions? Take heed: consider how friendship covers many grievances: but an enemy endures not the least injury, but looks back, and will not wink at his soe grown rich, whence he should not; But then he alleadges the wrongs done to his Ancestors; then he sights; wherein though he fail, yet he loses no possession; but prospering, makes the vanquished ask forgiveness. Do you therefore do us no fartherill, nor suffer any. Make not the Emperour an enemy to the Goths, whom you wish propisious. For know, that if you dispute this Castle, you will

have a war, not only for Lilybæum; but for all you hold without just title.

The Goths imparted these Letters to Atalaricus his mother, and by her di-

rection made this answer. Excellent Belisarius! your exhortation may be pertinent to some other men, but not Goths. We are not so mad at to detain any thing from the Emperour: Sicily we challenge all to be ours; whereof that Castle is one of the head Lands. If Theodotick gave his sister, married to a Vandal King, the use of a Mart Town in Sicily, this can give no pretence of title. But noble General! do us right; and decide this controversie not as an enemy, by a battel, but as a friend at an Arbitrament. We refer it to the Emperour himself, to do as to him shall seem legal and just. And we wish you to be advised, and to attend the determination of your Emperour.

Belisarius herewith acquainted the Emperour, and staid till he should further direct him.

In the mean time *Pharas* being weary of a winter-fiege, and supposing the *Moors* unable to oppose him, he undertook the ascent unto *Pappua*, with his troops well armed. But the *Moors* defended it so, that those who went up the Hill being steep, and bad way, were easily ruined; and *Pharas* being obstinate lost

110 men, and with the refidue was beaten back. But he fet very diligent guards, that they might be put to yield for hunger, permitting none to scape away, nor any thing to be brought them from without. Where the sufferings of Gelimer and his kindred and others with him, delicately bred, no relation can equal. The Vandals being of all the known Nations the most effeminate, and these Moore the hardiest. They first since their possession of Africk have used their daily baths, and plentiful tables, of the best and pleasantest things the earth and sea afford; most of them wore gold and filk, and past their times in Theaters; horse-races, and other delights, and principally huntings: They had their Masques and Playes, Muliques and gallant fights; many had gardens furnished with waters and trees, used much feasting, and were as much addicted to venerie. But those Moss are choaked up in close cabbins, never removing for heat of summer, or any inconvenience; and lying upon the ground, or happily with a sheeps-skin under them. They never change apparel, but all the year wear a thick coarse mantle, and a Freese-coat: They have no bread nor wine, eating their wheat, barley, and Olyra (as other animals) without reducing it to flour. With these Moors Gelimers company having long sojourned, in this strange change of diet, and now necessaries failing too; they could hold out no longer, but thought it the most pleasant to die, and to serve not base.

#### CHAP. V.

Hich Pharas understanding, wrote thus to Gelimer. 'I also am a Barbarian, not used to discourses; but do write now what I cannot but learn from the course of things. Why have you cast your self, dear gelimer ! and your whole kindred into this depth of milery? Is it to avoid being a flave? is that it you stomack, as conceiving all miseries good cheap for liberty? And doe you not now serve, having your best hopes of safety upon the most wretched of all the Moors? Tis better for a man to be a flave among Romans begging, then to reign over the Moors of Pappua. And can it be so extreme a scorn to be a fellowfervant of Belifarius? Fie I noble Gelimer. We glory (being not born of noble parentage) to be the Emperours flaves. But you (they fay) the Emperour intends to receive into the Senate, and to the highest honour called the Patriciate, and to bestow on you a large fertile country, and much wealth; and Belisarine will undertake these conditions upon his oath. Can you bear what fortune brings generously? and when the mingles her diftaftes with fome good, will you peevilhly reject it? Are not good things from fortune as needfull for us as bad? But these things the most sensless will not think. It seems being plunged in difafters, you lose your wits; For grief uses to amaze, and turn the mind upon bad counsels. But if you can manage your thoughts, without repining against fortune; you have it in your power, to chuse what's good for you, and to rid your felf of these miseries.

Gelimer lamented bitterly at the reading this Letter, and wrote back thus. I thank you much for your counsel; but to serve an Enemy wronging me, I hold intolerable; Of whom I would get right, if God were propitious. He hath set Belisarium upon me, I know not why; found a reasonless pretext of a war, and brought me to this, having never offended him in word nor deed. It is not impossible, but that something he wishes not may happen to him, though an Emperour, yet but a man. I can adde no more; my missortune hath taken away my invention. Farewell gentle Pharas; and at my request send the a Harp, a Loaf of bread, and a Sponge. Pharas doubted long how to construe the last clause of the Letter; till the bearer told him. That Gelimer askt him a Loaf of bread, longing to see and taste a baked loaf, which he had not seen since his comming to Pappua: That he needed a Sponge for his eye, swell'd with a theume, for want of sweating and bathing: And being skilful upon the Harp, he desired one to sing to it a sad Ditty he had composed upon his present calamity. Pharas condoline

doling with him, and at the condition of mantand, sent him the things according to his letter, but blocke him up faster then before. And three winter moneths wise meet the things her would get up to him. He saw the things of his kin even swarm with lice; full of forrow he was, weary of the thought of any thing but dying; yet he endured all beyond imagination, till he saw this night. A mooney woman had pounded some whear, and thereof made a fittle Cake, which she threw in the hot after upon the hearth, as the Leons offer to bake their bread. Two hungry boyes, (one the said womans some and the other of made bread. Two hungry boyes, (one the said womans some and the other of made by caught it first, and hungerly thrust it hot into sits inbuth, with the affect of the cake again. Getime, who observed all this actident, could not beate it, but resented, and presently wrote thus to Pharms. If ever the indured misery with a success quite contrary to his counsels, such am I Excellent Pharms. I mean not to neglect your good advice; being no longer able to first with fortune, not struggle under the yoke of destiny, which I will solve as it pleases the same to lead me. Let me have assurance of Belisarium undertaking the performance of that by the Emperour, which you lately intimated, and I will immediately render my self to you, and all my kindred, and Vandals here with me.

Pharas acquainted Belisarius with this, and the former Letters; desiring to know his pleasure. Who much desiring to bring Gelimer alive to the Emperour, and overjoyed with the news, instantly sent to Pappna, Cyprian Commander of the Confederates, with some others, to give oath to Gelimer for the safety of himself and company, and that he should have an honourable rank with the Emperor, and want nothing. And they with Pharas went to the foot of the mountain, whither came Gelimer, received the affurances as he defired, and went with them to Carthage. Belifarini was in a suburb thereof, named Acla: where Gelimer being prefented, fell a laughing openly, that some imagined him to be distracted through the extremity of his milery: But his friends alleadged the man to be of ludden apprehension; He was royally born, and a King; and now from a continued power and wealth, fallen into bondage and fear; And after his enduring so much in Pappua, he must now be ranked amongst slaves; And thus having had experience of Fortunes smiles and frowns, he thought Humane condition to deferve only laughter. Thus they conceived of it. But Belisarius acquainted the Emperour how Gelimer was a Captive at Carthage, and prayed leave to come along with him to Confiantinaple; keeping him in the mean time in an honorable relitaint, and preparing his Fleet. Many experiments the world hath seen beyond hope, and many it will, while Fortune continues the fame. Many things seeming to Reason impossible, have come to pass, and been wondred at: But I know not whether ever the like of these things bath happened. For a fourth Successor of Genferitk (his Kingdom flourishing with wealth and men of war) to be ruined in lo thort a time, by 5000 new comers without a place to anchor in, (so many only were the Horse, who by their valour or fortune debated the whole war) is justly to be wondred at. But I return from whence I digreffed; This being the conclusion of the Vandal wars.

#### CHAP. VI.

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Dut some Commanders being envious of Belifarius (as is usual in great felicities)
traduced him without any colour of truth, to the Emperour, of usurpation.
The Emperour made no linew of it, either despising the accusation, or thinking it his best way; and sent thinking and gave Belifarius his choice, either to come to Confrantinople with Gelimer and the Vandals, or to stay and send them. But he was not ignorant how the Commanders charged him with usurpation) briged to go to Confrantinople to cleer the imputation, and to be revenged of

his accusers. He came to discover the plot against him thus. His accusers fearing the miscarriage of their letters to the Emperour, and so to spoil their design, wrote of the usurpation in two letters, by several messengers in several ships; one whereof failed away unespied; but the other upon some suspition was taken in Mandracium, and his letter intercepted, and the plot discovered to Belisarius, who thereupon made hafte to get to the Emperours prefence. But the Moors of Byzacium and Numidia, breaking their truce, revolted, and suddenly made war upon the Romans, without any occasion at all: An action agreeable to their dispofitions; for with Moors is no care of oaths, nor hostages, ( though of their children, brethren, or Rulers ) neither any affured peace, but by their feare of the enemy. They made truce with Belifarius, and broke it, as I shall tell you. The Emperours Fleet being expected in Africk, the Moors afraid, reforted to their foothfaying women, it being not lawfull for their men to foothfay. These women after being possessed with a Spirit, as was usual for them, according to the manner of the ancient Oracles; foretoldan Army from the waters, the ruine of the Van. dals, and destruction of the Moors, when a Generall of Romans should come without a beard. Upon this answer the Moors, seeing the Fleet at sea, were afraid, and would not affift the Vandals; but fent to Belifarins, and made a peace, watching for the success. And the business of the Vandals being dispatcht, they sent to spie in the Roman Army if there were any Commander without a beard; And finding all well stored with beards, they thought (as they would have it) the Oracle to concern some after-ages, and not them. So they long'd to break the truce, but were afraid of Belifarius, despairing of overcoming the Romans, he being with them. And hearing him to be ready to go, and his Lanciers, Targetiers, and Vandal Captives to be already on ship-board, they took arms suddenly, and did the Africans much mischief: For the Souldiers being dispersed in small garrisons upon the borders, and unprepared, could not every where oppose, nor hinder the Barbarians inroads, which were often, and fecret. And fo men in confusion were slain, women and children made slaves, goods every where carried away, and all the Country full of flights. Belifaring was at fea when he heard of this, and could not come back now; but he appointed Solomon to govern Africk, and to take the most part of his Targetiers and Lanciers, and to chastife the Moors for this wrong to the Romans. Another Army the Emperor fent to Solomon, with Theodorus the Cappadocium, and Ildeger, who married the daughter of Antonina, Belisarius his wife. And the ancient African tributes being not to be found upon the ancient Roman records there, which Genserick had destroyed; Tryphon and Eustratins were sent with commission from the Emperour to make a taxe; Men whom the Africans found harsh and intolerable.

But Belifarius being arrived at Constantinople with Gelimer and the Vandals, was thought worthy of those ancient honours given to Generals for the greatest victories. It is about 600 years fince any had the same, unless it were Titm, Trajanus, and such Emperours, as led the Army in person, and got victory of some Barbarian nation. He led the spoils, and prisoners of war, in pomp through the City; which the Romans call a Triumph; but it was not in the ancient manner: He went afoot from his own house to the Circus, and there from his Pavillion to the Emperours throne. The spoils were things belonging to the service of the King, and Gold chains, and the Chariots for his Queen, with many Jewels & Cups of gold, and all things useful at a Kings feast. Silver also weighing many thoufand talents, and a huge mass of Royal furniture, (Genserick having sackt, as I faid, the Palace at Rome ) among which were some monuments of the Jewes, brought to Rome by Titm, after the destruction of fernsalem. A Jew there espying the same, standing by one of the Emperours familiar friends, It is not so good (quoth he) to bring these monuments into the Palace of Constantinople; for they cannot continue but where Solomon first placed them: Hence it is that Genserick Cacke the Palace in Rome, and now Belifarius that of the Vandals. The Emperour hearing this, sent them to the Christian Churches in fernsalem. The Captives were, Gelimer, bearing a Purple robe, and all his kindred, and the tallest and beauesfullest of the Vandals. Gelimer seeing the Emperour sitting upon a high throne, and the people on both fides in the Circus, and himself in that calamity, used no

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lamentation,

lamentation, but still repeated that in the Scripture, Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. Being at the Emperours throne, they took from him the Purplerobe, and caused him to fall upon his face and adore the Emperour. The same did Belisarius, supplicating for him to the Emperour: who, with his Empress Theodora, gave large means to Ildericks children, and the descendants of Valentinian; and to Gelimer they gave towns in Galatia of good value, where they suffered him to dwell. He would not change his Arrian Religion; so he was not admitted a Patrician. Belisarius not long after had a Triumph according to the ancient custom. Going to be installed Consul, he was born by Captives in a chariot, from whence he threw of the Vandal spoils among the people, silver-vessels, and gold-belts, and much more of the Vandals wealth. And then men saw things forgotten, thus renewed by time.

#### CHAP. VII.

An. Dom. 534. Just. 8.

But Solomon taking the charge of the Army in Africk, the Moors being up, and the State tottering, was uncertain what to do; Hearing how the Barbarians had killed the Garisons in Byzacium, and forraged the Country; but the misfortune in Byzacium of Aigan the Hunn, and Rufinus the Thracian, troubled him most, and all Carthage, being men of great reputation in Belisarius his retinue, and the whole Army. Aigan was one of Belifarins his life-guard; and the other, as the valiantest of the rest, was the Generals Standard-bearer, whom the Romans call Bandophorus: These commanding then Troops of horse, and seeing the Moors make booty, and flaves of the Africans, laid wait for them in a narrow paffage, killed them, and rescued all their captives. Which the Barbarian Princes, Cutzînas, Esdilasas, Inphrinthes, and Medisinisas hearing, set upon them about evening; whom the Romans, being sew, and surprised in the narrow passage, in the midst of thousands, were not able to resist; which way soever they turned the enemy having their backs. Rufinus and Aigan ran to a rock, and thence kept off the enemy with their arrows; who durst not come up, but darted their Javelins. Their arrows being spent, the Moors came to handy blowes, and they awhile defended themselves with their swords; but numbers overpressing, cut Aigan in pieces, and carried away Rusinus. But Medisinisas, fearing he might escape, and trouble them again, took off his head, and shewed it at home to his wives; being for bigness, and abundance of hair, a goodly

It is not amiss to say something here, how, and from whence the Moors came originally to inhabit Africk. When the Hebrews came out of Egypt, and Moses was dead, and Joshua his successor, with more then humane valour, had brought the people into Palestine, possest the Country, overthrown the Nations, conquered their Cities, and was thought invincible: The Gergesties and Jebustes, and other Nations, mentioned in the Scripture (being populous, and inhabiting the sea-coast, from Sidon to Egypt, called Phanicia, and under one King, as is confessed by all Writers of Antiquities) seeing this new Captain unresistible, they removed from their own Country into Egypt. Where finding no room, (Egypt being antiently populous) they went on into Africk: and building many Cities, possess and language. In Numidia they built a Casse, where now is the City of Tigiss. In which stand two Pillars, near the great Conduit, with these words engraven in the Phanician language. We are they who fled from before Joshua thechief, the son of Nun. Other people antiently inhabited Africk, and therefore were said to be born of the earth. Whereupon their King, Antans, (who wrastled with Hereuses in Clypea) was called the son of the same race, who received them and permitted them to build Carthage. But in time, the Carthaginians grown great and populous overcame these Moors in battel, who came

thus out of Palestine, and forced them to inhabit far from Carthage. And the Romans afterward being Masters of the world, planted the Moors upon the uttermost borders of the inhabited Countrys of Africk, and made the Carthaginians, and other Africans Tributary. But lately the Moors got many victories of the Vandals, and held Mauritania, extending from Caliz to Casarea, and the

most part of Africk beside.

But Solomon understanding the accident of Aigan, and Rusinus, prepared for a War, and wrote this Letter to the Princes of the Moors. Others heretofore have ventured foolishly, and perisht, not divining the event of their presumption: But you, seeing a president of your neighbours the Vandals, upon what madness have you drawn your swords against the great Emperour? and do thus abandon your safeties, after solemn oaths, and your sons given for pledges? Is it to shew that you regard neither God, faith, kindred, nor safety? Being such, in what God can you trust for help, provoking a Roman Emperour? You have lost your sons; for what is it you mean to hazard? If you repent for what is past, write that you will give over; If not, expect a Roman war to come upon you, with your violated eaths, and the undoing your own sons.

The Moors made this answer to Solomon. Belisarius perswaded us with large promises, to obey the Emperour. But now affording us no share of your prosperity, you would have us friends and aids still, starving with hunger. It is you are the faith-breakers, not the Moors: Not they, who sly off from their affociates upon wrongs, violate Truces, but they who demand Truce, and then oppress men: Not they, who sight for their own, make God their enemy; but who usurping other mens right, dare hazard a war. Concerning sons, you may be troubled, who must have but one wife: We who may have 50 wives at

once, can never want a generation,

Upon this, Solomon resolved to lead his Army against them; and having disposed of things in Carthage, marcht into Byzacium, and encamped at Mamme, near the aforesaid Moorish Princes,

### CHAP, VIII.

T the foot of high mountains there, upon a plain piece of ground, the Bar-A barians put their battel in order to fight, thus. They put their Camels in a round (as Cabaon did formerly) made their front 12. Camels deep, and placed their women and children in the middle, fave some few, who made their entrenchments, and cabbins; dreft their horses and Camels, and their own diet, and did many services in their fights. Themselves Rood between the Camels legs, having shields, swords, and Javelins; and some horse upon the mountains. Half the Round next the mountain, Solomon omitted; fearing left the enemy from thence, and from the Round might charge his men at once, and so get their backs, oppofing the Army to the rest, and finding them dejected with the accident of Aigan and Rufinus, he made them this speech to encourage them. You that are fellow foldiers of Belisarius, are not to fear, nor make it an example, if 50000 Moors have vanquisht 500 Romans. Call to mind your own valour. Think how the Vandats vanquishe the Moors, and with what ease you are now Masters of the Vandals; and having beaten the better men, will you fear the weaker? The Moors are the poorest Nation to fight in the world, coming naked, or with short shields only, ill made, and unable to keep out a blow, and such men, as when they have thrown out their two Javelins, if they do no effect, run instantly away : So that we may by warding their first fury, have the better with ease, your advantage in your arms, valour, strength of body, experience in battels, and confidence, for having been already victorious over every enemy, you are to confider. All which the Moors wanting trust only to their multitude, who being no foldiers, are the more easily beaten by a few well prepared. The foldier bath his confidence in himself: but the coward is commonly distressed by 'his croud of affiftants. And these Camels deserve your contempt, which cannot resist us, and being wounded by us (as they shall) will put these men in disorder. Their presumption upon their former good fortune, will fight for you.
For boldness measured by ones power, may be an advantage: but exceeding
that, it runs him into danger. Which considering, and not valuing the enemy,

you shall silently, and with ease vanquish him,

The Princes of the Moors also, seeing their men amazed at the Romans order, used this encouragement. 'You have found, fellow soldiers! that these Romans have but the bodies of men, having killed some of their best men, overwhelmed with our Javelins, and taken many of them prisoners. Then have we a great advantage in numbers: And our strife is about the greatest things, either to be 'Masters of Africk, or slaves of these braggarts. So that now hazarding for all, if we be not more then ordinarily valiant, we shall do no good. And let us not regard their arming, which combers their foot, then whom the Moors will be much the swifter. And their horse will be disordered by the sight of our Camels, and by their cries, louder then the noise of the battel. To think the enemy unresistible because of his victory of the Vandals, is an errour. The Generals vertue ever poises the battel: and Belisarius, the greatest cause of that victory, fortune hath removed: Besides, the Vandals we had weakened before, and made them an easie conquest to the Romans: And if we do valiantly now, we shall be Masters of these men also.

This exhortation ended, the battel begun. At first the Romans were put into consustion by their horses skittishness at the sight and cry of the Camels, throwing their riders, and running away, and by the Moors incursions, darting the Javelins they had: so that being frighted and in tumult, they neither defended, nor kept their ranks. Which Solomon seeing, leapt from his horse, and commanded the rest to do the like, and to stand still, warding with their shields, against the enemies Javelins, and to keep their orders. Himself with 500 men gave on upon the Round; directing to kill the Camels. The Moors there ran away, and some 200 Camels were killed. Which being done, the Round was to be entred, and the Romans pierced into the midst of it, where the Moors wives were. The Barbarians all amazed, ran up the mountain, whom the Romans pursuing, killed some 10000 of them, slying in consusion. The Camels surviving were taken:

and the Romans marcht to Carthage, to keep their Feast of Victory.

The Barbarians grown angry, made an universal invasion, leaving none behind. First they overran Byzacium, sparing no age they could catch. Solomon was newly come to Carthage, when this news was told him. So that he marcht against them with the whole Army; and at the mountain of Burgaon, upon which the Moors encamped, he sate down, expecting the Moors descent, that he might give them battel upon plain ground. But seeing them not come down, he put the Army in a fair order to fight. But they watched their occasions in the mountain, being heartily afraid of the Romans, and having no mind to fight in a champian. Burgaon is most of it very ragged; and to the East inaccessible; but to the West passable; and rising gently; and between two rocks is a deep woody Valley. The top of the mountain, where they expected no enemy, they left without men; and they quitted the foot of it, which was easie of access; and encamped in the middle, to have the shooting of the enemies heads from above. And they had horses, either to run away with, or to chase, if they got the day: Solomon seeing the Moors would not yet come to the even ground, and the Roman Army weary in that defert place, made hafte to fight. But finding the foldiers difmayed at their enemies multitude, much greater then in the former battel; he spake thus to

'The enemies fear of you needs no accuser nor witness; it convinces it self.
'So many thousands not daring to encounter you upon even ground; and having no considence in themselves, but making this fastness their refuge: So that exhortations in words are needless to you, whom the things themselves, and your enemies weakness animates: Only let me put you in mind, that by the prosperous conclusion of this day, you will instantly enjoy all the wealth of Africk; the Vandals being overcome, and the Moors reduced, and no enemy

left to think of. And that the enemies may not floor down upon four heads, noel

Solomon having thus faid, commanded Theodorse the Scout Maften, co draw out 1000 foot, with their Enfignes, about the evenings, and closely to get upat the East fide of Burguon, where the mountain is most difficult; and being come to the top, to pass the night without noile; and with Surveiling to thew thems felves to the enemy, displaying their Enfigher, and to shoot at them . He did accordingly, and at mid-right, passing up a ragged way near the rock was neither differried by Moore nor Romans; being faid to be fent to ly abroad y to pre vent mischief to the Camp. Before break of day Solomon went to the skirt of the hill, toward the enemy; and the foldiers, when the day grew bright; feeing the ron of the mountain, full of men displaying Roman Enfigues, were amazed. When they on the top, began the fight, the Romans perceived them to be their own; and the Barbarians finding themselves that on both fides; and without means to drive off the enemy, they despaired and ran away. But daring to fly neither to the top nor bottom of the hill, being both possessed by the enemy; they ran amain to the woody Valley some on horse back, some afoot. And being a multitude, and in fear, and tumule, they killed one another,, and fallingine tothe Kalley very deep, the foremost were flain, and not difcerned by them that followed. But when the Valley was full of horfes and dead bodies; the refidue were laved; palling over the bodies from Burgaon to the other rocky The furviv vers attibuted so thousand Moors to have been flain inthis overthrow. The Romani lost nota man, nor somuch as received a wound from the enemy, nor other arrident, but all enjoyed the victory untoucht. The Barbariano Princes escaped all, fave Ifallafar, who upon promife of life, yielded himfelf prifoners Their booty of women and children was to great, that they fold a Moriff boy for the price of a theep. The Moone remaining, then remembred the womens Prophefie , That their Nation should perish by a man without a beard,

#### CHAP. IX.

He Roman Army with their booty and I dilasar returned to Carthage: But the Barbarians furviving, would not continue in Byzasium, being few, and fearing to be opprest by the neighbouring Africans, but fled to Jubian, Prince of the Moors of Aurasium in Numidia. In Byzacium such of them only remained, as were fubject to Antalas, who kept his faith to the Romans, and had no harm done to his Sujects. In the mean time the faid fabdas forraged Munidia with 3 000 men, and made flaves of many Africans. Althias then had the command of a Castle thereabout, who having a mind to rescue some of those captives, drew out 70 Hunns of his Garison; but not conceiving it possible with such a number to fland the multitude of the Moors, he would have possest some narrow passage, where the enemy marching, he might have seized upon the captives. But finding all open champian about the Towns there, he refolved to possess a great well standing in Tigifis, an unwalted City, but in a great fastness; thinking that the enemy being thirty, would certainly come thicker, no other water being near. The great odds in numbers caused his conceit herein to favour of madness. The Moors having toiled in the summer heats, and being extream thirsty, ran to the well, imagining no opposition. But finding the place posses by the enemy, they stood amazed, being faint, and longing for water. Jubdas therefore came to a parly with Althias, and offered the third part of his booty, that his Maers might drink, which he refused, but offered to fight a fingle combat with him. Which Jabdar accepted, and it was agreed, that if he vanquishe Althies, the Moore thould drink, Who were glad, and confident, freing Alchian a lean many not tall; whereas Jabdas was the goodlieft and valuentest of all the Moon. They were on horseback; and Jabdas threw first his Javelin, which Althias caught flying at him in his right hand (which amazed his enemy) and with his left hand

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bent his bow (being both-handed) and killed Jabdas horse. The Moors brought their Prince another horse, upon which he leaped up, and ran away; the Moors following in disorder. Althias recovered the captives and booty, and got a

great name in Africk for this act.

But Solomon, after a short stay in Carthago, led the Army against Jabdas to mount Anrasium, for sacking the Towns of Numidia, while the Roman Army was buse in Byzacium. The other Moorish Princesalso incensed Solomon against him; as Massonas, being enemy to Jabdas, who killed Mephanias his father treacherously, though he had married his daughter. And Ortheus, because he had plotted with Massinas, Prince of the Barbarians in Manritania, to expell him, and the Moors his subjects, from their antient habitation. So the Army under Solomon, and their Moorish aides, encamped by the river of Amigas, which runs by Anrasium. Jabdas thought the champian disadvantageous for him to sight in; so he made Anrasium as difficult as he could in the sit places for an assault.

This mountain is 13 days journey from Carthage, and the greatest we know; the circuit being three days journey. It is difficult to get up, but being up, and on even ground, are fields, fountains, rivers, and many admirable gardens; the wheat there, and all that grows, is twice as big as in any other part of Africk. Some neglected Castles also there are, the Inhabitants sinding no use of them: who never were put into any fear since the Moors took Aurasiam from the Vandals. Nay they demolished Tamugadis, a populous City to the Eastward of the mountain, upon the very entrance of the plain, that enemies might not lodg there, and for the Cities sake approach the mountain. The Country to the west of Aurasiam being large and good, the Moors had likewise; beyond whom are other Moors subject to Ortans, who aided Solomon. I have heard that man say, that beyond his Country is a Wilderness, and beyond that, men not black, like

Moors, but with white bodies, and yellow hair.

Solomon distributed monies amongst his Auxiliaries, encouraged them, and with his whole Army ascended mount Aurasium, in order of battel, thinking that day to try his fortune against the enemy; so that the souldier had brought but little fodder for their horses. They went six miles and a quarter in very bad way, and lay all that night in the fields. And the seaventh day (going every day as much) they came to an old Castle by a river, called by the Latines, Mons-scuti. Here they had been told the enemy was encamped; but none encountring, themselves encamped there, preparing to fight : they spent there three days. But seeing the enemy absolutely gone, and necessaries failing, Solomon and the whole Army doubted some plot of their Auxiliary Moors. Who knowing persectly the ways of Anrasium, and in likelyhood the enemies designes, by riding to them secretly, and often being sent by the Romans to discover, yet they never spake a true word. So they thought it best to be gone before some blow, and to return with greater provisions, and better furnished in other things. Now they were afraid, and suspected treason from their Auxiliaries, whom they knew naturally false, and especially when they aid the Romans, or any against the Moors. Upon all these considerations, and the famine pinching, they went down immediately, and made an entrenchment in the champian.

But the winter being come, Solomon marcht to Carthage, where he prepared for another journey in the beginning of the spring to Aurasium, without any auxiliary Moors, if it might be; and he appointed forces and a fleet against the Moors in Sardinia; being a rich Island, and as big as two third parts of Sicily; the circumference of it is twenty days journey; and is in the mid-way between Rome and Carthage, and much vexed with Moors, who were confined and planted there with their wives and children, by the Vandals. These possess the mountains near Carnalis, and at first committed petty stealths upon the natives; but being grown to a number of 3000 men, they made open inroads, and ransackt all the places near them, being by the natives called Barbaracini. Against these Moors

Solomon prepared a fleet the winter.

#### CHAP. X.

But at the same time, Belisarius being sent into Italy by the Emperout, against Theodarus and the Goths, landed first in Sicily, and took the Island; the manner whereof I refer to my enfuing History of the affairs of Italy. When I have written the occurrences of Africk, I will come to the Relation of Isaly and the Goths. This winter Belifarius spent in Syracuse, and Solomon in Carthage. And all this year the Sun had a fearfull and prodigious light, without beams, like that of the Moon, and for the most part it was as eclipsed, without the clear and usual lustre. And during the same, famine, war, and all kind of mortality did infest mankind. It was in the tenth year of Justinians reign.

In the beginning of the spring, the Christians celebrating their Easter, the soldiers mutinyed in Africk upon this occasion. The Roman soldiers having vanquishe the Vandals, married their wives and daughters. Who drew their husbands to challenge the possessions formerly theirs, as being unjust (having enjoyed the same by the Vandals) to be deprived of them now, being married to their Conquerors. The foldiers having this put into their heads, thought they ought not to yield those possessions to Solomon, who intended to annex the same to the Treasury, and the Emperours house; not refusing the slaves and moveables for spoils to the foldier; but the Lands he alleadged to belong to the Emperour, and State, which fed them, and gave them the quality of foldiers, not to conquer for themselves the Lands taken by Barbarians from the Empire; but to recover them to the Treasury, from whence they and the other Armies had their entertainments. Another parcy also there was which troubled Africk as much, or more. In the Army were some thousand Arrian soldiers, most Hernlians. These were provoked by the Vandal Priests, being not allowed their accustomed divine services but barred from all, both Sacraments and Chutches: For Instinian permitted not any Christian not Orthodoxal, to have the benefit of Baptism, or any other Sacrament : Especially they were troubled, the Feast of Easter approaching, wherein they might not baptize their children in the holy Laver, nor do what belong'd to the Feast. And Fortune heaped to this, another mischief upon the Romans, by adding a supply to these Mutiners. The Emperour had made five horse troops of the Vandals, brought to Constantinople by Belisarins, to lye perpetually in Cities of the East, under the title of Vandalici. The most of these went by sea into the East, and made up the appointed troops, till this day serving against the Perfians. But 400 of them from Lesbes, forcing the Mariners, came upon the coast of Pelopone s, and from thence failed into Africk, landing in a defert coast; where leaving the ships, they went into Mauritania to mount Aurasium. encouraged and more combined the mutinying foldiers, who had many conferences and oaths about it,

The Feast being at hand, the discontented Arrians, who were interdicted the Church, eagerly urged it. And the ring-leaders of them had relolved to kill Solomon, the first day of the Feast, called the great day. The plot was undificerned by any: For though many were engaged in it, yet none missisked, nor revealed it; many of Solomons Lanciers, and Targetiers, and most of his housholdfervants coveting those possessions, were in the mutiny. At the day , Solomon fate in the Church, apprehending no mischief; The men appointed to kill him, made signes to one another, and had their hands on their swords; but did nothing: either reverencing the Church-Service, or abashed at the state of their General, or by something divine restrained : But divine service being ended, and every man come home, the foldiers blamed each other for fainting, and appointed the plot the next day: When they likewife came from Church without doing any thing; and meeting in the market-place, railed upon one another, each man terming his fellow falle, and faint-hearted, and reproaching his awe of Solomon. And their plot being divulged, they thought it unsafe to stay in Carthage. So the most of them went out, and pillaged the Villages, and used the Africans as

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The rest remained in the City unsuspected, and seeming ignorant of

the conspiracy.

Solomon hearing what the foldiers did in the Country, and exhorting them in the City to good affection to the Emperour, at first they seemed to entertain his discourse. But hearing how those abroad did what they listed in the Countrys, fecurely; the fift day of their mutiny, they impudently railed upon Solimon, and the other Commanders in the Circus. Solomon feat Theodorus the Cappadecian to appeale them, a man that loved him not, and was suspected to practise against him. Whereupon the mutiners with cries chose him their General, and with him went to the Palace, where they killed another Theodorn the Scout-Mafter, a worthy man, and a good foldier. Being blouded, they killed all they met , whether Africans or Romans , if Solomens friends , or with mony about them. Then they pillaged the houses, where no foldiers defended, taking away all of any value, till the night, and drink after their toil quieted them. Solomon fled to the great Church of the Palace; whither about the evening came Martimes; and when the mutiners were afleep, they went to the Lodging of Theodorus the Cappadocian, who constrained them to sup, though they bad little mind to it, and brought them to a fhip in the harbour, provided for them by Valerianus. Procopius, the writer of this History, was in company, and five of Salomons retinue. After 37 miles failing they came to Meffna, a road for Carthage fhipping. and a fafe place. From hence Solomon fent Martinu to Valerianu, and the other ommanders in Numidia, to attempt to reduce fuch mutiners as any of them knew, by mony, and all means. And he wrote to Theodorns to take care of Carthage, and to do what he could. Himself with Procepts went to Belifering to Syracufe, relating the accident, and praying bim to repair to Carthage, and vindicate the Emperour from this affront of his own foldiers,

#### CHAP. XI.

N the mean time the mutiners having fackt Carthage, made their rendezvouz in the Plains of Bule, and chose Storzas, one of Martinus his life-puard, their General; a man couragious and active, hoping to get Africk thus, by expelling the Emperours commanders. He arming his forces, being 8000. led them to Carthage, expeding instantly to take the City. He fent for the Kandals who escaped from Leibar, and others who went not with Relifarius, being either concealed, or negleded by the Officers. In all they were 1000 men, who went readily to Stor-car Camp, and a multitude of flaves came also. Storage being near, sent to Car-thoge to yield without further hurt. But Theodorns and the rest professed to guard the City for the Emperour, and required them to forbear force; sending to them fosephins, who had been of the Emperours guard, and now was one of Belifaring retinue, and lately fent to Carthage about business: whom Seasan put to death for his message, and fell to the siege. And the Citizens afraid, were thinking to yield upon composition. When Belifarine with 100 of his Lanciers and Targetiers, and Solomon with one thip arrived at Carebage toward the evening : the beliegers expecting the rendring the City on the next day, and with that hope lying still that night; and when it was day, hearing of Beliferim arrival, thamefully role, and ran away. Belifarine got together 2000 of the Army, and with fair words and mony, exhorting thm to a good affection to the Emperour, he purfued the flyers, and overtook them at Membres, about 43 miles from Carrbage. Here they both encamped, and prepared to fight; Belisarim by the river of Bagradas; the other upon a high ragged ground: Neither would enter the City, being unwalled. The next day they drew out to fight, the mutiners trusting in their numbers, whom Belisarim his men despited, for foolith fellows undisciplined.

And to imprint this the more firmly, Beliferine spake thus unto them. Fellow soldiers ! This happens so the Emperous against our hopes and wishes, to come to a battel with our kinimen and companions, whom we cannot conquer

without

without grief. But our comfort is, that we began not; we only defend our felves. He who by his treasons renounces his kindred, is not killed by his friends. but in the quality of an enemy is punished for his injury done them. These men have proclaimed themselves enemies, Barbarians, any thing, by their spoyting Africk, and killing both natives, and many Roman foldiers, for no offence, but their good affection to the State. For this we come to chastise thein, now enemies, though some time friends. No men are friends or enemies by nature; but in their actions are either united in a joint affistance by a similitude of manners and opinions, or disunited by a dissimilitude. And as they are unjust men and enemies, we are to fight with them : So are they to be despised, being a multitude not affembled by Law, but upon wrong : And fuch never fight valiantly : valour not vouchfafing to keep company with outlaws, and men unjust: neither will they keep their orders, nor obey the directions of their new General, who wanting power to be confident, must necessarily be contemned by them. For rebellion is naturally hated, never honoured; and being timerous it felf, cannot govern the subject, and keep him in awe. So that the enemy wanting both valour and government, their defeat will be easie; and you must march against them with contempt, not estimating the power of a battel by numbers, but by order and valour.

fervitude; and grudg not now to die for the liberty gotten by your valour. It is not so grievous to grow old and die in slavery, as after freedom to return to it again; the interim of ease making the calamity taste more sowre. You may consider therefore, how in the overthrow of the Vandals, you had your part in the toil, and others now possess the spoils; and how being soldiers, you are engaged to a life of hazarding, either for the Emperour, if you serve him again, for for your selves, if you keep your liberty. And the better of these two you may now chuse, by resolving in this action to sight without fainting. Consider also that you have taken arms; and if you now be subdued, you will not find the Romans gentle masters, but shall suffer extremities, with the addition of being justly turned. So you see our death will be honorable if we die, and if we be victorious, our life will be free and happie; but bitter, if we be beaten, when our only hope must be in our enemies mercy. And in the battel the enemy hath much the disadvantage in numbers, and hath no great mind to charge us, wish-ring, it seems, their part in our liberty.

wind blew in the muriners faces, who fearing the disadvantage of fighing, where the wind would carry the enemies arrows violently on them, and abate the force of theirs; they wheeled about, thinking the enemy, not to have their backs open, would turn about too; and so have the wind in their faces. But Belifaring feeing their open their ranks, and straggle disorderly, bad begin the fight; which brokens men not looking for, fell into confusion, and ran away into Number of the willing where they rallied again. Belifaring followed no execution, thinking it e-

nough with formall an Army to beat the enemy, and fend him going.

To the foldiers he gave the enemies camp to pillage, who found not a man in it, but much wealth, and many Vandal women, for whole fake this war was. Then, Belifarius marche back to Carthage, where hearing that his Army in Sicily mutined too, and would undoe all, it himself in person did not prevent; he took order for A first, and committing Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, he went into Sicily.

The Commanders in Nimidia, hearing of Storzas being there, and gathering head, prepared to fight with him? Marcellus and Cyrillus commanded the Confederates, Ranhaim the horse, and Terensius and Sarapis the foot; Marcellus commanded in other, being Governor of Namidia. Who hearing of Storzas being with a sew as Charifully, a Towne two dayes journey from Confederation, marcht with speed to prevent the coming of the other mutiners. The Armies being near, and the fight ready to begin, Storzas came alone into the midst, and spake thus to the chemy. Pellow soldiers! It is unjust in you to take arms against

'gainst your kinsmen and companions, who have undertaken this war with the Emperour, being grieved to see your miseries and wrongs. Do you not remember how long your pay hath been due, and still is detained from you? how the spoyls of the enemy, your prizes appointed by the law of arms, are taken from you? The fruits of your victory others must riot upon, while you follow as their servants. If I offend you, use your anger against this body presently; for I hate to sty to others for refuge. If you have no exception to me, come and use your arms for your selves.

The foldiers embraced this motion of Storzas, and affectionately faluted him; and their Commanders feeing it, retired into a Church in Gazophylis. Storzas joyned the Armies against them, gave them his faith for their coming out, and

then killed them all.

#### CHAP. XII.

An. Dom. 537.

The Emperour hearing these things, sent Germanu his brothers son, a Paerician, accompanied with Symmachu, as Prafect of the Camp, to manage the expence of the Army, and Domnicus, to be Commanders of the foot, upon the decease of John his predecessor. Germanu being landed at Carthage, mustered the forces, and by the Check Roll of the soldier names, he found a third part of them to be in Carthage and other Cities, and the rest joyned with the Rebels. Wherefore he would begin no sight, but took care of the Army; and sinding the soldiers in Carthage to be kinsmen and comrades of the enemies; he courted them: and said the Emperour had sent him expressly into Africk to vindicate the soldiers, and to chassis such as had wrong'd them. Which the mutiners hearing, came in by sew at a time; whom Germanu received courteously, gave them his saith, and held them in good account, paying them their sull dues for the time they had been in rebellion. The report whereof drew them in troops from the enemy. And then Germanus hoping to match the Rebels in numbers, prepared for a battel.

Storzas also perceiving the mischief, and fearing more desection of his mea, made haste to try his fortune. He had some hope too, if he could get near the soldiers in Carthage, to get them to run away to him. And with this hope he chiefly confirmed his Army, and speedily marcht to Carthage, and encamped

near the fea, about four miles from the City.

Germanus armed and put in order his foldiers, and having heard what hopes Storzas had, he spake thus, 'Fellow soldiers! you have no just complaint against the Emperours usage of you: Who in Constantinople took you to him newly come out of the Country with a knap-fack, and one poor coat; and hathrow made you lo great', that the Roman State is committed to you. But how he hath been fcorned by you, and suffered the greatest extremities, you cannot be ignorant. Whereof the remembrance indeed he would have you retain, but the profecution he clearly remits, expeding this only fatisfaction from you, to be ashamed of what you have done, and therenpon to learn a new lesson of fidelity, and to repair your former ingratitude. The timely repentance of erring men obtains their pardon; and a seasonable service done, may take the name of ungratefull men from you. Nay if at this time you appear well affeeled to the Emperour, know this, that no memory will remain of what is past, Theactions of men have their names from the conclusion: and errors done, no ages can undoe; but being repaired by better deeds, they get a handfome filence, and commonly are forgotten. If now you neglect your duties a gainst these rogues; your many battels hereafter for the Romen, and victories of our enemies, will not by the Emperour be thought a recompense. The bravelt apology is to get honour in the very things men have erred in. Thus you are to think concerning the Emperour. And I, who never wrong'd you, but to my power have shewed my affection to you, entreat this only of you in this danger,

That no man will march against the enemy contrary to his mind; but if he defire to joyn with their Army, to pass over to them immediately; doing us this only favour, not to abuse us secretly, but in an open way: Which is the reason I move this here between the Armies, and not in Carthage; not to hinder any that will run away; but to leave it in every mans power, to shew his

'affection to the State.

Every man upon this speech, bustled to shew himself to his General, and to fwear the good affection he had to the Emperour. And some days they were thus encamped against each other, At length the mutiners seeing none come to them, whom Storzas told them of , being afraid, as failing in their hope; they disbanded, and went into Numidia, where were their wives and booty. Germanus shortly after, with his Army well prepared, and with store of waggons for it, came thither also; and overtaking the enemy at a Town called Scala Vereres, he prepared to fight, fetting the waggons in front, and the foot by them (commanded by Domnicus) to secureing their backs. The best horsemen, and such as came from Constantinople, himself had at the left hand of the foot. The rest he fet at the right wing in three Troops, commanded by Ildiger, and Theodorus the Cappadocian; and the biggest by Johnthe brother of Pappus : the fourth by himself. The Mutiners stood opposite to them, not in much order, but scatter'd like Barbarians. Not far behind came many thousand Moors, led by fabdas and Orthans, not all true to Storzas; many having feat to Germanus, and promiled in the fight to turn against the enemy. Germanus could not much trust them, being a people so falle to all men. And they joyned not with the mutiners, but kept aloof behind, waiting the event, and with the conquerours to purfue the vanquished. Stores approaching the enemy, and seeing the Generals Enligne, call d to his men, and marcht towards him. But the Hermins mutiners flopt him, faying, that the powers of Germann they knew not; but they knew that the enemy in the right wing would not fland. So that charging them, and they running away, they are likely to put the enemies whole Army in diforder; whereas if Germanin beat them, all will be loft. Store as approving the advice, left the rest to fight with Germanu, and himself with his best men, gave on upon John, and his troops, who not abiding them, ran away in confusion. The mutiners took their Ensignes, and purfued them. Some turn'd upon the foot, who began to disband; When Germanus drawing his sword, and calling upon his troop to do the like, with much adoe he routed the enemy on his fide; and gallopt up to Stotzas, with the troops of Ildiger and Theodorm. And all was fo mingled, that the mutiners chafing some of their enemies, fell among others, and were flain. The confusion grew great, and Germanus his troops coming on neerer behind them, they were afraid, and thought no more of fighting. Both fides using the same language, and arms, and differing not in shape, habit, nor any thing, could not be distinguished; till Germanus directed the Emperours Army to ask any they took, what he was; if he faid he was a foldier of Germanm, to bid him give the watch-word, which if he could not, to kill him. Germann had his horse killed in the fight, and himself being down and in danger, his life-guard rescued and remounted him. Stores in the tumuse with some few escaped; and Germanus marcht against the enemies camp; where the mutiners who had the guard of the Trenches, opposed him; and there was a stiff fight, the mutiners being very near beating them back. But some sent by Germanus to attempt the camp in another place, got into the entrenchment with eafe, which the mutiners feeing, ran away; and Germanus with the Army, entred the camp. The foldiers fell to pillage, neither thinking of the enemy, nor hearkning to their Generals directions; Who fearing the enemy might rally, and charge them, flood in the camp gate, crying and complaining for discipline to men that heard him not. The Moors followed the execution upon the mutiners, and pillaged the camp with the Army. Storeas at helt trusting to the Moore, rode up to them, to renew the fight... But finding what they were doing, he made a flift to efcape with 100 men. Many made head with him; and tryed to fight again, but being repulled, they all hubmittodto Germanne; only Sewear, with a few Fanduls, retired into Mauritania, and these marrying a daughter of one of their Princes, remained. And to ended this mutiny,

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But Maximinus, a Lancier of Theodorus the Cappadorian, had gotten many of those mutiners with a design to usurp, and drew still more, revealing his intent, among others to one Asclepiades, a Palestinian, a great favorite of Theodorns; who discovered the plot to Theodorus, and he to Germanus. Germanus would not stirr new bufiness in a state unsetled, but thought to gain the man by fair usage; rather then to punish him. The life-guard of any great Roman officer use at their admittance to swear fidelity to him and the Emperour: He sent therefore for Maximinus, and extolling his valour, took him for one of his own guard; and he, glad of the honour, and means hereby to facilitate his defigne, took the Oath, but neglected the same, and persisted more then ever in his Treason. The City keeping a publick festival, many of Maximinus mutiners came at dinner time to the Palace, as Germanus was feasting his friends, with Maximinus behind him. One whispered Germanus, that many foldiers stood tumultuously at the Court gate, complaining of their pay for a long time unfatisfied. Germanus commanded some of the trustiest of his life-guard to make sure of Maximinus, without letting him perceive any thing. Those mutiners with threatnings and tumult tan to the Circus; and fuch other conspirators as knew their intent, ran thither by one and one. If they had been all affembled, it had been hard to suppress them: But most of them being yet behind, Germanus fent instantly such as affected the Emperour and himself, and they came to a fight with the mutiners, who expected not such a thing from the foldiers; but milling Maximinus to conduct them, and wanting the numbers they lookt for, gave it over, and disorderly ran away; many of them were killed, and many taken, and brought to Germanns. Such as came not to the Circus, flewed as if they had not been in the confpiracy; and Germanus would not make any fearch after them. He examined if Maximinus had, fince his Oath, proceeded in his Treason; and being convicted to have been more forward in it fince his being of the life-guard, he caused him to be crucified under the walls of Carthage; And fo absolutely dispersed the mutiny ato la re; When or some drawing in away, cal calleg

## Aphalous and much as a doctor med discensing or hashing some of the entire of the enti

But the Emperour called home Germanns, with Domnicus, and Symmachus, and again made Solomon Governor of Africk, being now in the thirteenth year of his reignes; giving him another Army, and Commanders in it, Rusinus, and Leonius the son of Zannas, the son of Pharesmanes and John the son of Sissinolm; Marsinus and Valerianus being formerly sent for to Constantinople. Solomon being come to Carthage, and free from the mutiny, governed Africk moderately, and kept it safe, disciplining the Army, and sending the suspicious men to Constantinople, and to Belisarius, supplying their rooms with new, and banishing the remains of the Vandals, and all their women; He compassed the Cities with walls, and observing the Laws exactly, preserved the State; that Africk in his Government was rich and happic.

Things being letled, he made war upon fabdas, and the Moors of Amasium: and sent out before with sortes, Gombaris, one of his life guard, a good soldier, who encamped by Bagan, a desert Town upon the River of Abigas; and there he was overtheown in a fight by the enemy, and retiring to his camp, was straitly belieged. Solomon afterward encamped with the whole Army, seven miles and a half from Gonthanic entrenchment; and hearing how he had sped, he sent him part of his Army, and had him be of good courage and fight again. The River Abigas comes from Angainm, and being in the plain below, waters the land as the Inhabitants will, by drawing the stream to their uses. For it enters through

An Dom. 539. Just. 13.

They level early care with a

feweral breaches under ground into the plain, where it rifes again, gathering a Gream : And the Inhabitants, by damming up the breaches, or opening them, make what wie they please of the waters. The Moore then opened the breaches, and let in all the River about the Romans camp, which made a marith not to be past for deepnels. The Remans were distracted at it a but Solomen hearing thereof marchither; whom the Banbariann fearing, retired, and in Bahofis, at the foot of the mountain encamped. Solomen came thither soo, and in fight bear them, and made them run away. The Affers thought it disadvantagents to have fights upon equal terms, thus being not able to frand them; but trufting to the faltnelles of Aurafum, and hoping that the Romans would be weary of the tonk as formerly and be gorte, many of them went away into Mauritania. and to the Barbarians to the fouthward of mount aduration. But fabdas with 20000 Moors, went to Zerbule, a Caftle built by him in Aurafiam, and there lay fill. Solomon what to spend time in belieging; and hearing how the Country of Tamugadar had flore of ripe wheat, he conducted his Admy thither, took the spoil, and burnt the reft, and then returned to Zerbule. In the mean time fabdas leaving a sufficient guard for the Castle was gone up to the top of Aurasium, fearing to be blockt up in the Caffle, and reduced to wants. And at Tumaz, a place rifing with cliffs round about, and fenced with broken rocks, be refted. The Romansthree days affaulted Zerbule, and the walls being low, thot many Moors, and chanced to kill all their Commanders. The third day at night; the Romans. hearing nothing of those Commanders death, consulted to rise; Solomon thinking it best to go against fabdar and the main body of the Moors, who being subdued Zorbula: would quickly yield. But the Barbarians (their Leaders being flain) would hold no longer, but filently ran away, and abandoned the Castle, undiscovered by the enemy. The Romans at day break were trusting baggage; but wondred to see no enemy upon the wall. And doubting what it should mean; and compassing the Castle, they find the gate open, where the Moore ran way. they entred and took the booty, but would not purfue the enemy, being men apparelled higherly and skilfullin all the paffages. Having fackt the Caftle, and left a Garison in it, they went on, all afoot. And at Tumaz, where the enemy was, they encamped in a fastness, having water and other necessaries very scarcely. A long time was spent, and the Moors fallied not, so that being more besieged then the enemy, they fretted, chiefly for the want of water, which Solomon put a guard upon, giving out but a cup full to a man every day. But feeing them impatient, and unable to endure longer this hard diet, he resolved to stay no longer, but to draw the men to fight near this Caftle, and thus exhorted his get evening rights. To theful Learth on Moor men. give a cut it was to good it on early the

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### th war around the Line of withe Lagrance) even I mainted by permitted to grant their de

All difficult, and uncredible to such as have not seen our former actions; we must not now neglect the gift of God, but with our accustomed valour, boldly undergoe this hazard, and from our former good fortune presage a suturne visitory. And the advantages of all actions standing in the due use of occasions; if any man now slothfully neglect the offer of sortune, let him not accuse her; but himself, being abandoned through his own default. You see the Moors weakness, and this Castle wherein they shelter themselves, destitute of provisions a And you must with a patient siege expect the enemies surrender, or by neglecting that, neglect with danger, avictory ready for us, How much better, and lets dangerous is in to try your fortune against men, not likely to sight with your being washed with famine? Consider these things seriously and obey directions of a surrender of the serious surrender.

Soloman spake thus, and then studying how, and where to assault (all being round about a rock) fortune shewed him his way. One Geson, a Lieutenant of

toot,

foot, (whom the Romans call Optio,) either in sport, or earnest, or by divine impulsion mounted alone, and presently other souldiers admiring his courage sollowed him. Three Moors ran to oppose him, and the place being narrow, came single. The first by chance falling, the Roman used his advantage, and killed him. The souldier who followed him seeing it, ran up with a shout; and the whole Army neither expecting leader, nor sound of trumpet, nor observing order, but crying and encouraging one another, gave on: where Rusinus, and Leontius, the son of Zannus, did so bravely upon the enemy, that terrified at it, and seeing their guards cut in pieces, they all ran away, and the most overtaken

in narrow paffages were flain,

Jabdas, though woudned by a dart in his thigh, escaped and fled into Manritania. The Romans pillaged the enemies camp, and Solomon caused them to stay in Aurasium, and repair the Castle, and left a garrison to hinder the Moors recourse thither in their rebellions. In Aurasium is an ancient Tower, standing upon a rock called Geminians Rock, fafe, and difficult of accesse. Here fabdas had lately put his wealth, with his women; and never thinking that an enemy could get thither, or force the Tower, he left one old Moore onely to take charge of his treasure. But the Romans through all the difficulties got thither, and one of the fouldiers as in fport, began to climb up to the Tower; whom the old man and the women laught at for a mad man. But he scrambled up with his hands and feet, and being got up drew his sword, and cut off the old mans head. The rest of the fouldiers boldly and with alacrity helpt one another up, took the women and a great treasure, with which Solomon re-edified the walls of many cities in Africk. The Moors being beaten out of Numidia, fled into Zebe, a Country of Mauritania beyond mount Aurasium: whose metropolis is Sitiphia, tributary to the Empire. Cafarea is head of the other Mauritania, tributary likewise, except the City it self, exempted by Belisarius for a landing place for Romans; there being no good passage to it by land. So in Zebe the Meors fate down, whereby the Affricans continued in obedience, and a fetled peace, without thought of hostility, and were very happy under Solomon, a prudent and moderate Governour.

#### CHAP. XVI.

An. Dom. 540. Just. 14.

N the fourth year after, all this prosperity changed into miseries. It was In the fourte year after, an this prospering and Sergion the fons of Baccou, Solomons brother, were sent to govern in Africk; the elder Pentapolis, and the younger Tripolis. To these the Leucathian Moors came with an Army as farre as Leptin Magna, giving out it was to give them presents, and to establish a peace. Sergim by the persuasions of Pudentin the Tripolitan (who made the first war against the Vandals for the Emperour ) received into the City 70. Moors, whom be invited courteously to a feast, promising to grant their demands, and the rest he willed to stay in the suburbs. They say they came with a treacherous intent to kill Sergin; and that one of them in speech with him expostulated the Romans unjust spoiling their corns and Towns, and other wrongs; which Sergiou flighting, and rifing from his feat, and going away; one of them caught him by the mantle, and would have staid him, Hereupon the rest rose, and tumultuously stood about Sergine : and one of his Lifeguard drew his sword, and killed the Moore that held him by the mantle : whereupon all being in an uproar, the Lifeguard of Sergim kill'd all the Moores, fave one; who seeing his fellower flain, stole out of the roome, and got to his countrymen, telling them what happened: who ran to their camp, and with the rest came in Armes against the Romans. Neer Leptis Magna Sergim and Pudentine, with their whole forces, met them. The fight came presently to handy blowes, and the Romans were victorious and slew many, fack't their camp, and got a great booty, and abundance of women and children. Afterward Pudentim was slain by his own rash adventuring, and Sergiss retired with the Army into Leptis Magna, it being grown dark. Shortly after the Lancathians came with a greater preparation against the Romans; Sargins went to Solomon his Uncle, to defire that he would come back against

Here again the Greek begins. against these with a great Army; where he found Cyrus his brother. The Moors the while overran Bizacium, and sack't most of the towns. Antalas also formerly ever faithfull to the Romans and therefore having the Government of the Moors in Bizacium, was now turned enemy to Solumon, who had taken from him those allowances the Emperour had affigned him, and killed his brother, for making a commotion in Beracium. So he willingly joyned in a league with thele Barbarians, and led them to Carthage against Solomon: who advertized thereof, marcht towards them; and finding them at Tebeffe, a City fix dayes journey from Carthage, he encamped his Army, together with Cyrus, and Sergius, and Solomon the yonger, all fons of Bacchus. He fent to the chietes of the Leucathians (being afraid of their multitude ) complaining of their taking arms, and invading, being yet in league with the Romans; demanding a ratification of the peace; and promising to take the strongest oathes, to abolish the memory of what they had done. They laugh at these overtures, and faid; 'That doubtlesse they would ' swear the Christians oath, which they call, the Gospels: which Sergins having ' fworn, and then killed those who trusted him; they meant now to try by a bat-'tel, what power those oracles have against men that forswear them; that so be-'ing confident in them, they may come to a treaty.

Solomon, hearing this, prepared to fight; and the next day, meeting fome enemies driving a great prey, he defeated them, and took it from them. The fouldiers murmured because he kept it to himself, not giving them the spoiles of War: But he bad them stay till the War was ended, and then every man should have his share according to his desert. The Barbarians again urged to give battel. But of the Romans, some were absent, others went on with no heart: yet at first the fight was equall; afterward, the Moors surmounting much in numbers, the Romans ran away. Solomon with his company endured their shot a while, then being over press, shed; and at a torrent his horse stumbling he fell. His Lifeguard set him up again, but being in pain not able to hold his bridle, the Barbarians overtook and killed him, and many of his guard. Solomon being dead thus the Emperour gave the Government of Africk to Sergim, who proved the destruction of the Province. All were discontented; the commander at his youth, indiscretion, and insolence, and the impertinent affronts he did them, wherein he imployed his power, wealth, and the authority of his place; The souldiers, because he was a coward; And the provincials, for all this, and moreover for

his unsatiable love of their wives and Estates.

Above all, John, the fon of Sisinniolus, being an able souldier, and of great reputation, was offended with his greatness, and extream ingratitude to himself. So that neither he nor a man among them would draw their fwords against the enemy. Almost all the Moors followed Antalas, who had fent for Storzas out of Mauritania. And Antalas then wrote this letter to the Emperour. 'That I am the servant of your Empire I deny not; But the Moors have been forced to take arms upon the base injuries done by Solomon, not to rise up in arms against you, but to refift an enemy; especially I from whom he was not contented onely to take away my allowances, defigned by Belifarius, and by you given me, but he hath killed my brother guiltlesse; we have now righted our selves upon him that wrong'd us; and if you will have the Moors obsequious servants of your Empire, as formerly, command Sergius the Nephew of Solomon to leave Africk, and send some other Generall: you cannot want men far worthier then Sergius. So long as he] commands your Army, there can be no peace between the Romans and Moors. The Emperour notwithstanding this letter, and though he knew the Generall hatred of Sergins; yet in respect of Solomons worth, and manner of death, he would not remove him.

#### CHAP. XVII.

The brother of Sergius, yong Solomon, was thought to have perisht with his Uncle, and was not lookt after, so much as by his brother. But he was taken prisoner by the Moors; and being askt who he was; he said he was a

38 1. 15 5.

Vandal, and flave to Solomon, and that he had a friend at Laribum, a Town thereabout, named Pegafus, a Phylitian, who would pay his ransome. The Moors under the Town-walls called for Pegafus, and shewing him Solomon, askt if he would redeem him; and for 50 gold staters they delivered him to him. Being within, he flouted the Moors for being cosened by a boy; and told them how he was the brothers fon of Solomon. The Moors angry for having so easily let goe fuch a pawn, belieged Laribum to take Solomon. The belieged were afraid, wanting provisions, and offered the Moors money to raise their siege: which they accepted, finding they should not force the Town, being not used to assaults; and not knowing the wants within: So the Leucathians went home; But Antalas made head again in Byzacium; having besides his Moors, Stotzas with some few Romans, and Vandals. Johnthe son of Sissinniolus, at the Africans opportunity, raised Forces and went against them; and he appointed Himerius the Thracian, Commander of the forces in Byzacium, to draw out his troops, and to joyn with him at Menephelis in Byzacium. But hearing the enemy to be there encamped, he wrote of it to Himerina, and to joyn with him in another place, that they might with joynt forces encounter the enemy. The bearers of the Letters going another way, met not Himerius; who with his troops fell into the enemies hands; only Severianus a young man, the fon of Afiaticus a Phanician, with his troop of horse, being 50. fought with the enemy. and held out, till preffed with multitude, they ran to a Caftle upon a hill, which was of no strength, and there yielded upon composition to the enemy, who killed him not, nor any of the foldiers, but they took Himerius prisoner, and bestowed all the foldiers on Stotzas, upon their promise to serve against the Romans. Himerius they threatned to kill if he performed not his promise: which was to deliver to them the City of Adramettus; and upon the protestation of his true meaning, they went thither with him, being not far off. Him they fent before with some soldiers of Stotzas, dragging after them Moors bound: Themselves followed. They directed Himerius to tell the guards that John was victorious, and would forthwith come with a multitude of Moors his prisoners; and that They did thus, and the gates being open, he should get in with his company. the Adramettians were deceived, and let them in, not mistrusting one who commanded the whole forces in Byzacium. They that entred with him, staid the guards from shutting the gates, and received all the Moors into the City; which they fackt, and leaving a small Garison, departed. Some prisoners afterward escaped to Carthage, among whom was Himerius, and Severianus; it being no Many staid willingly with Stotzas. hard matter to run from Moors

Shortly after one Paul, a Priest, (such as oversee the sick) told some principal men of Adramettus, that he would go to Carthage, and hoped to return with an Army shortly, which he had them be ready to receive in. They let him down the wall by cords; and he finding at fea-fide a fishing Buffe, perswaded the owners with mony, and failed to Carthage. Where he acquainted Sergine with the matter, and defired some forces to recover Adramettus. Sergius liked it not, having not many foldiers in Carthage; He defired him to give him some few; and getting but 80, he put them aboard a number of ships and boats, with many Mariners and Africans, wearing foldiers coats; and with this fleet failed to Adramettus; and being near it, fent word fecretly to fome chief Citizens, that Germamus, the Emperours Nephew, was newly come to Carthage, and had fent a good Army to the Adramettians, in the confidence of which, he bad them open one of their gates. They did so, and Paul with his company got in, killed the enemy, and recovered thus Adramettus. The report of Germanus spread as far as Carthage; and the Moors, and Stotzas followers at first ran to the utmost marches of Africk; but hearing the truth, it vexed them to be used thus by the Adramettians, whom they had spared; so that every where they committed cruelties upon the Africans, sparing no age; the Country became waste, the Provincials that were left flying, fome to the Cities, some into Sicily, and other Islands, and the chief of them to Constantinople; among whom was Paul who recovered Advanettus. The Moors in the mean time (none oppoling) ransackt all without controll, and with them was Storzas, grown powerfull; and many Roman foldiers followed him, some voluntaries, some taken prisoners at first, but now staying willingly: John also, whom the Moors did somewhat respect, being in disgrace with Sergius, lay still.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

IN the mean time the Emperour sent into Africk with some soldiers another General, Areobindus, a Senator, and a gallant man, but no soldier. With him for Prefect of the Camp, he fent Athanasims, lately come out of Italy, and some Armenians commanded by Artabanes and John, the sons of John, of the race of the Arsacides: These, with the Armenians with them, lately revolted from the Persians to the Romans. With Areobindus was his fifter, and his wife Projetta, daughter to Vigilantia, the Emperours sister. Infinian did not call home Sergius, but divided the Generalship, the Province, and the Cohorts between Areobindus and him. And him he directed to make the war in Numidia, and Areobindus in Byzacium; who arriving at Carthage, Sergius with his Army went into Numidia. And Areobindus hearing that Antalas, and Storzas were encamped at Sicavenerea, three days journey from Carthage, fent John the fon of Sissiniolus against them, with the choice of his Army, and wrote to Sergins to iovn with John, and in one body to encounter the enemy. Sergins slighted the direction, and the business; so that John with a small power was forced to combat with innumerable enemies. Between him and Storzas was an everlasting hatred; Their wish had been to kill one another, and so die. This bat el being ready to joyn, they both rode out against each other. John shot Stotzas in the groine on the right side, who having his deaths wound, fell upon the place, but died not instantly; His own men and the Moors set him against a tree ready to expire, and then they suriously charged the Romans, and exceeding them so muchin numbers, easily routed them. They say, John then said, that he should die a pleasant death, teeing his wish upon Storzas accomplished: and then his horse stumbling down a hill, threw him; and the enemy killed him striving to get up again. man great in reputation and valor Storzas being told of it, faid this only word and died, that now he died with delight. John the Armenian was also flain, having done very bravely. The Emperour advertised of the death of John, and troubled for the great worth of the man, finding it also inconvenient to have two Generals, recalled Sergius, and fent him with forces into Italy, and committed Africk wholly to Areobindus. Two months after Sergins departure, Gontharis attempted to usurp, being Commander of the Cohorts in Numidia, and there residing. He dealt fecretly with the Moors that they should invade Carthage; and they suddenly with an Army levied out of Numidia and Byzacium, marcht thitherward; the Numidians led by Cutzinas and Jabdas, and the Byzacians by Antalas: With them was John, who was made General in the room of Stotzas, by the Roman mutiners. Areobindus informed hereof, sent for Gontharis and other Captains to Carthage: Artabanes also came to him with his Armenians. Gontharis being commanded by Areobindus to march in the van, and promising much forwardness, sent to the enemies camp a Moor, his cook, to pretend himself a runaway, but to Antalas privatly to fay, that Gonthars would share with him in the dominion of Africk. The cook performed accordingly; and Antalas, though glad at the motion, yet answered him, That men do not execute great matters by cooks. Gontharis hearing this, fent to him Ulithens, one of his guard, whom he most trusted, to entreat him to come as near Carthage as he could, and promifing to kill Areobindus. And Ulitheus (without the knowledge of the rest of the Moors) agrees that Antalas shall have the dominion of Byzacium, and half Arcobindus wealth, and 1500 Roman foldiers; and that Gontharis shall retain the title of Emperour, Carthage, and the rest of Africk. Having negotiated this, Gontharis returned to the camp; the Romans being quartered before the walls, to guard the several gates of Carthage. The Barbarians made haste thither, encamped at Decimum, and the next day marcht forward. Some Romans fought H 2

with them unlookt for, and killed many; whom Gontharis called in, rating them for putting the State into evident danger by unadvised adventuring. In the mean time Areobindus practised also on that side with Cuzzinas, who promised him in the battel to turn against Antalas, and the Moors of Byzacium; thus the Moors observe no faith to others, nor among themselves. Ariobindus revealed the plot to Gontharis, who desirous to dash it, advised him not to trust Cuzzinas without his sons for hostages. But Areobindus and Cuzzinas proceeded closely in their designe; and Gontharis secretly sending Vithens, acquainted Antalas with the designe; who neither charged Cuzzinas, nor made shew to have heard of his Treason, nor yet revealed the plot between him and Gontharis. They both hated one another, yet with these bad intents sought in company together, each against his own friend.

#### CHAP. XIX.

But Gontharis his intent was to kill Areobindus secretly in the battel, that he might not seem to intrude into the Empire; but rather that the soldiers, thinking the treason to be acted by others, might constrain him to usurp the dominion of Africk. To circumvent Areabindus, he counsels him to lead the whole Army the next day by fun-rifing against the enemy, who was now come near to Carthage. But Areobindus being backward and raw in such businesses, delayed, and fpent most of the day in fitting his arms about him, and other things for the fight: which he thus put off till the next day. Gonthar is suspected him purposely to dally, as fenting the plot; and resolved openly to murder him, and so to make himself King of Africk. His plot was, to set open the gate whereof he had the guard, and to hinder the shutting of it again by great stones put between; and then to place armed men upon the battlements; himself standing in the gate with his corfelet on: This he invented, not for the Moors reception into the City (who being false themselves, suspect all men else; and good reason, that a faithless man should trust none, weighing others disposition by his own.) So that he did not hope that the Moors would trust him, and come within the walls; but that Areobindus being frighted, might run away to Constantinople: and he lighted upon a right conceit, if a sudden storm had not staid Areobindus; who being informed of the plot, sent for Athanasius, and other principal men. Artabanes, with two others, came to him, and advised him not to thrink at this prefumption of Gontharis, but instantly to fally, and fall to work before further mischief: But Areobindas first sent Phredas, one of his favorites, to Gontharis, to feel his resolution. Who brought him back word, that Gontharis avowed the usurpation. Then he resolved to go out and fight with him. Gombaris in the mean time accused Areobindus to the foldiers for a coward, 'and that to detain their pay from them, his intent vas to fail away out at the Port of Mandracium with Athanafins, and to leave the foldiers to perish by famine and the Moors. He therefore demand-'ed, if it were their pleasure to seize upon them both. His hope herein was, that either Arcobindus would run away at the tumult, or be taken and killed by the foldiers; and himself undertook to satisfie their arrears. They embraced the counsel: And Areobindus, with Artabanes, and their troops coming up to them, there was a fight at the battleme ts, and the gate where Gontharis stood. The foldiers well affected to the Emperour, making head from several quarters, (the most part continuing found, and not corrupted by Gontharis) had absolutely routed the mutiners; but Arcobindus aftonishe to see men killed (a fight he was not used to) cowardly ran away. Within the walls of Carthage, by the sea-side, is a Church of Monks, men who precisely exercise duties to God. This Church Solomon lately had repaired, walled, and made a strong Castle of it: And hither Areabindus fled, and fent for his wife and fifter. Areabanes retired also, and the rest; and Gentharis having an absolute victory, seized upon the Palace with his soldiers, and put guards upon the City gates, and the Haven. He sent first for Athanasins,

Athanasius; who soothed him, and seemed to like the action wonderous well: Then he fent the Bishop of the City, to will Areabindus to come to the Palace upon affurances of fafety; threatning, if he refused, to pull him out, and kill him. The Bishop, named Reparatus, went, and by Gontharia his direction of-fered to swear that he should have no hure, and told him what he threatned upon his refusall. Areobindon was afraid, and promised, if the Bishop at the celebration of the holy Baptisme would in Gonthars his name by oath affure his security, that he would go with him. This the Bishop did; and Areobindus without more scruple went with him, having on a garment, called in Latine Casula ) not fit for a Generall, nor a common foldier, but for a flave rather. At the Palace he took the Bible from the Bishop; and being brought to Goutharis, he fell upon his face, and lay so a long time, holding out his supplication, and the Bible, and his little fon, newly made partaker of the holy Baptisme, at which the Bishop had fworn his fafety. Gontharis tailed him with much adoe; he conjuring him by all that is holy to tell him if his life were fafe. Gonthar's bad him be of courage; for the next day he should go from Carthage safe, with his wife and goods. Then he dismissed the Bishop, and invited Arcebindus and Athanasius to sup with him in the Palace. At supper he honoured Areobindus, placing him on his right hand upon the couch. After supper he would not let him go, forcing him to lie in a Chamber alone whither he fent Ulithens and some others, who after his much crying and wailing, and words to move pitty, killed him. Athanasius they spared, despising his age. The next day Gontharia sent Areobindus his head to Antalas, but kept his goods and the 1500 foldiers. At which Antalas chased : and it troubled him to see how Gontharin had forswore himself to Areobinius his friend, so that he could not think he should ever keep faith to himself, or any. After much debate, he resolved to submit to the Emperour, and so marcht away. He then fent to Marcentins, Commander of the Horse in Byzacium ( who was fled into an Island ) acquainted him with the business, and upon affurances got him to come to him. So Marcenting was with Antalas; and the foldiers of Byzacium, true to the Emperour, guarded Advancting. The mutiners of Stotzas about 1000 men, were led by John to Gontharis, who gladly received them. Of them were 500 Romans, and 80. Hunnes; the rest were Vandals.

Artabanes, upon assurances came to the Palace with his Armenians, professing his service to the usurper. But closely he plotted his death, consulting with Gregorius, his Nephew, and Artasiris, one of his guard. Gregorius, to egge him on, told him, 'That he had now the means to gain the glory of Belisarius, nay to exceed it. He, with a gallant Army, a huge treasure, with many Commanders and Counsellors; with a Fleet of ships (the like whereof this age had not heard of) with store of horse and arms, and with a preparation fitting the Roman Empire, had recovered Africk. All which was now so cast away, as if none of it had ever been; and that the Romans from Belisarius his victory were fallen to be abused in their persons, and robbed of their goods. But that it was onely in his spirit, wit, and sword now, to recover all this to the Emperour. He bad him consider, how he was of the race of the Arsacides, and think how men nobly born must be every where valiant. Being a youth, he slew Acacius, Governour of Armenia, and Sittas the Generall; and thereby was made known to King Chosraes, and made war for him against the Romans: that being such a person, he ought not now to abandon the Roman Empire thus to a drunken dog, but to make it appear, that his former actions proceeded from true nobleness and valour: that himself, and Artasiris would serve his commands therein. Thus Gregorius incensed Artabanes against the Tyrant.

#### CHAP. XX.

W Ho in the mean time removed the wife and fifter of Arcobindus from the Castle, to a house where they had competent provisions, and had no dishonour

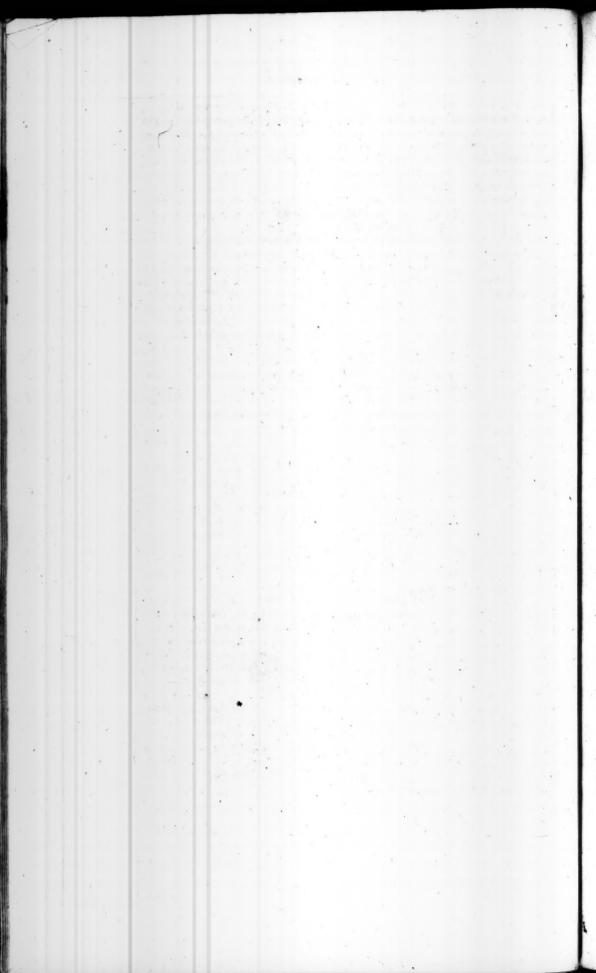
honour nor constraint used to them, save onely that Projecta was made to write to the Emperour her Uncle ; That Gontharis used her with all due respect, and was clear of her husbands murther, committed by Ulithens without his allowance. Gontharis did this upon the advise of Pasiphilus, a chief mutiner in Byzacium, and his principall affiftant in this usurpation; who alleadged, that by thus doing, the Emperour might give him the Lady to wife, which would bring him much wealth. Gontharis also commanded Areabanes to lead the Army against Antalas, and the Moors of Byzacium: Cutzinas was fallen from Antalas, and joyned with Gontharis, and had given him his mother and children for hostages. Artabanes marche directly against Antalas, with John Captain of Storzas mutiners ; and Ulisheus with the Moors under Cutzinas. They past by Adramettus, whereabout they found the enemy, and encamped a little diffant. The next day John and Vlithem Staid with part of the Army; and Artabanes and Cutzinas with the rest drew out against the enemy. But Antalas and his Moors stood them not, but ran away; And Artabanes with a willing cowardize turned about his enfign fuddainly, and rode back : whom Ulithern would have killed at his coming ; but he excused it upon his fear , lest Marcentins with aids from Adramettus might diffresse them, and that it were fit that Gontharis should oppose the enemy with his whole Army. Artabanes hereupon thought first to joyn with the Emperours Army at Adrameteus : but upon better advise he resolved to kill Gontharis, and fo rid the Emperour and Africk from trouble. Returning therefore to Carthage, he told the Tyrant the necessity of a greater Army; who after consulting with Pasiphilm, armed the whole forces, and purposed to lead them himself, leaving a garrison in Carthage. And every day he killed some upon causelesse jealousies. He instructed Pasishilus ( to whom he left the guard of Carthage) to murder all the Greeks; and having fet all in order, he thought good to feast his friends, being the next day to depart. His feast was in a room where three couches flood ever ready : upon the uppermost himself fate , with Athanasus , and Artabanes, and some of Gontharis favourites, and Peter a Thracian, formerly of the guard to Solomon. At both the other couches were the best men of the Vandals : John, the captain of Stotzas mutiners, was feasted by Pasiphilus, and the rest severally by Gontharis friends: Artabanes when he was invited, resolved it for a fit opportunity to kill the Tyrant, and to execute his defigne. He acquainted Gregorius and Artafiris therewith, and three other of his guard; these he directed to get in with their fwords (the fashion being, while the Commanders feast, for their guard to stand behind them ) and when they see their time to fall to work suddainly, and Arta ris to begin. Gregorius he instructed to bring many of their valiantest Armenians to the Palace onely with swords (it not being lawfull to attend their Commanders in a City with other weapons, ) and leaving them in the utter Court, to go in with the guard. And they to pretend themselves jealous, lest Gontharis had invited Artabanes for no good, and to defire to stand among Gontharis guards to guard their Captain. And then in sport, to catch the others shields, and to tosse them, and play with them, and when they heard the cry within, to put on the fhields and run in. This direction of Artabanes Gregorius put in execution; and Artafiris had this devise also. He cut arrowes in two, and the pieces he thrust in round about his left arm to his elbow: tying them with whip-cord, and covering all with the fleeve of his coat; that he might take any blow made at him upon his arme, and so cause it to glaunce down the wood of the arrowes from off the body. To Artabanes also he spake thus. 'I will undertake this without the least fear, and I hope with this sword to pierce Gontbaris. The ' fuccesse I know not , whither God offended with the Tyrant will affift me; or, to punish my fins, crosse me. If you see him not mortally wounded, kill me with this sword instantly; lest by torture I should discover you, and so basely perish my felf, and be forced to ruine you too. Having thus said, he went with Gregorius and one of the guard, and stood behind Artabanes. The rest staid with the guards without, and did as they were directed. Artafiris at the beginning of the feast would have done it, and had his hand upon his cimiter. But Gregorius stopt him, saying in the Armenian tongue; that Gontharis was yet himself, not having drunk much wine. O the brave spirit in me you suppresse now! quoth

quoth Artasiris. The drink proceeding, and Gontharis being well drencht, and grown bountifull; gave of his meats to the guard, which they went out to eat, leaving Ulithens, and two other of the guard by Gontharis. Artasiris went out for company; and having a conceit that something might hinder the drawing his Cimiter, being without, he slipt off his scabbard; and with his sword naked under his mantle, he stept suddenly to Gontharis, as to say something in private. Artabanes seeing him, his heart boyled, and falling into a deep musing, he shaked his head, and changed his colour, seeming wrapt with the greatness of the action. Peter markt it, and perceived the business: but loving the Emperour, he

liked it well, and fo made no discovery.

Artaliris being come near to Gontharis, one of the waiters thrust him off; and perceiving his naked fword, cryed out, what's this my friends? Gontharis croffing his hand over his own right shoulder, turned about to look at him. In the doing whereof Artasiris struck him with his sword, and cut off part of his head, and his fingers. Peter cryed out to Artafiris to kill the wickedest of all men. Artabanes seeing the Tyrant down, and sitting next him, with a broad knife he had hanging at his fide, thrust him into the left fide up to the haft, and there left it: Gontharis strove to rise; but fell, the wound being mortal. Ulithens made a blow to have cleft Artafiris head : but he held up his left arm, and had the benefit of his own wit at his most need: For the sword losing the vigour upon those arrows about his arm, he had no hurt, but he killed Vlitheus Peter and Artabanes took up the twords of Gontharis and Vlitheus, and killed the other two of the goard. The Armenians who stood without with the guards, hearing the crie and tumult, fnatcht up the shields according to their plot, and ran to the other couches, where they flew the Vandals, and Gontharis favorites. Artabanes charged Athanasius openly, to look to the treasures of the Palace, all being there which Areobindus left. The guards without hearing of the Tyrants death, joyned presently with the Armenians, having been most of Areobindus retinue. And with one voice, they all cryed, Emperour Instinian victorious! which growing very loud from such a multitude, reacht to most parts of the City. Such as were well affected to the Emperour, brake into the mutiners lodgings, and killed them, being afleep or eating, or amazed with the terror of it; and among them. Pasiphilus. John the mutiner, and some Vandals, fled to the Church; whom Artabanes took out upon affurances, and fent them to Constantinople; and having recovered the City for the Emperour, he made it safe. This killing of the Tyrant, was the 35 day of his usurpation, in the 19 year of Instinians reign. And for this service Artabanes got a great renown : Projecta, Areobindus widow, gave him a great present; and the Emperour made him General of Africk. Not long after, at the entreaty of Artabanes, he fent for him home, and made John, the brother of Pappus, General. Who immediately fought with Antalas, and the Moors of Byzacium, and defeated them, killing many, and recovering all the Enfignes taken at the killing of Solomon, which he fent to the Emperour. All other Moors he drave as far as he could from the Roman dominion. But afterward the Leucathians coming from Tripolis into Byzacium, with a great Army, and joyning with Antalas; John met them, and was beaten, with the loss of many, and fled to Laribum. The enemy then over-ran Africk, and did much mischief, even to the gates of Carthage. John quickly rallied the soldiers remaining, and drew Cutzinas, and other Moors to his aid; and in a battel with the enemy, overthrew them beyond expectation, and killed numbers of them in the execution, as they fled in confusion. The rest escaped to the uttermost marches of Africk. And so at length the Africans who were left, being few, and very poor, with much adoe obtained fome quietness.

An.dom. 545. Just. 19.



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with them. Via Ap 3 H. Kliffer

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A a
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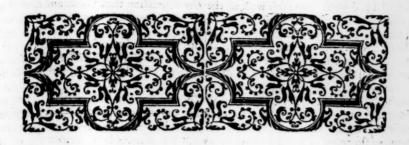
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THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour.

# JUSTINIAN.

Of the GOTHFCK VVarre, the first BOOK:

# CHAP. I.



HUS were the Romane Affayres in Affrick. But I proceed to the Gothick Warre; First, touching in a word what happened to the Goths and Italians before this Warre. When Zeno was Emperour of Constantinople, Augustus held the Westerne Dominion, whom by a diminitive, the Romans called Augustulus, because he received the Empire being yet a Boy, which his Father Orestes, a very wise man, did administer. The Romans sometime before had drawne to their ayde Skirrians and Alans, and other

Gothick Nations; from whence they came to suffer those things from Alaricus, and Astalus formerly related. As the Barbarians grew strong, the Roman Souldiers were under-valued; and by these New-comers under colour of ayds, they were tir nnyzed, and forced impudently to many things: And in Conclusion they demanded of Orestes all the Lands in Italy to be divided, and to have a third part allotted them, and resusing to do it, they killed him. There was among them one Odoacer, one of the Life-guard to the Emperour, who promised to satisfie their demands, if they would place him in the Governement: † so hee usurped, permitting the Emperour to live still a private man, without other harme: Hee gave the third part of the Lands to the Barbarians, and so made them sure his own, and established his Tyranny for ten yeares together. About the same time the Goths, planted in Thrace by the Emperour, rebelled against the Romans under Theodoricus, a Patritian, and advanced in Constantinople to the Consulssing: Zeno, skilfull at a present accommodation, advised Theodoricus to go into Italy, to sight with Odoacer, and to get for himself and the Gothes the Dominion of the West; it being better for him ( being a Senator ) to beat out the Tyrant, and raign in Rome and Italy,

Anno Domini 479. These were seated in Albania, now, upon the Gulfe of Venice, neer unto Epidamus, now Duranzo.

then to runne a hazard by contending with the Emperour. Theodoricus liked his Counsell and went into Italy with all the Goths, putting their Wives and Children in Waggons, and all the Goods they could carry. They could not croffe the Jonian Gulfe, wanting ships, but compassed the Gulfe, and passed by the Taulantians, and other Nations. Odoacer and his people opposed them, and were beaten in many Battells: then they shut themselves up in Ravenna with their Prince, and in other strong Towns. All the Townes the Goths took in by Siege, fave the Cattle of Cafina, about thirty seven miles distant from Ravenna, and Ravenna it selfe, where Odoncer was; which they could not get by Force nor Composition. It is scituate in an open Champian, at the bottome of the Jonian gulfe, distant only a quarter of a mile from the Sea. Ravenna is hard of accesse for an Army by Sea or Land; no ships can land upon the shore, by reason of a shelve of almost foure miles lying before it, which keepes the Sayler far from the Coast, though it seem neer at first. Neither is it approachable by an Army of Foot, by reason of the River Poe, (by some called Eridanus ) which descends from the mountaines of Gaule; and of other navigable Rivers and Lakes, compassing the City with waters, where happens a dayly wonder. The sea each morning rises a dayes journey into the Land, and makes it navigable; and at evening draws home her waters, and spoyles the passage. Such as are to import to the City Merchandize, or to export the fame, towe their ships to the place where the water uses to make a Passage, and there stay for a Floud; which coming, by little and little they float their Vessells, and fleere away.

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Amillion and 2600001. fierl. a man in yeares, and who had been conversant in Latine discourses, and the Do-Arines of Plato, but unpractifed in Warr, and never afpiring to feats of Juffice, yet extreamly avaricious. He was Lord of many Townes in Tuscany, and by Oppression sought to spoyle the owners of those remaining: it was an Affliction to Theodatms to have Neighbours. Amalasuntha endeavoured to curbe this humour in him, which made him very spitefull against her; And he plotted to deliver Tuscany to the Emperour for a great summe of Money, and to be made a Senatour, and to remain at Constantinople. In the mean time came Ambassadors from Constantinople to the Bishop of Rome, Hypatius Bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, Bishop of Philippi in Macedonia, about points which Christians of different opinions dispute among themselves. The questions I know, but will not recite; To search what the nature of God is, I hold to be a frantick arrogance; humane things are not to man exactly comprehensible, much lesse things pertayning to the nature of God: Let me therefore be filent without danger, onely by my not mif-beleiving that which in God is honoured. For let Preists or private men speake as they are perswaded, I can say no other thing concerning God, but that he is absolutely good, and hath all things in his power. But Theodatus, meeting privately with these Ambassadors, gave them order to acquaint the Emperour with the plot I mentioned before.

# CHAP. III.

'N the mean time Atalarick fell into a Confumption with his excessive gluttony; which much distracted Amalasuntha, who had no confidence in her Sonne, being runne into fo much folly; nor if he dyed could shee thinke her life safe, having offended the principall Goths. So shee resolved to deliver the Dominion of the Goths and Italians to Justinian, and to save her selfe. With Hypatins, and Demetrins, came one Alexander, a Senator; whom the Emperour (hearing of Amalafuntha's thip in the harbour of Epidamnus, and that thee came not, much time being spent ) fent to view, and report concerning her, in pretence as an Ambassador, to treate about Lilybaum, and about ten Hunnes, who were run from the Campe in Affrick into Campania, and entertained by Uliaris, Captaine of Naples, without Amalasunthas consent. And the Goths warring with the Gepades about Sirmium, had used hostitility upon Gratiana, a City in the marches of Illyrium: All which the Empeperour charged Amalasuntha with, and wrote his Letter to her by Alexander; who left the Bishops at Rome to negotiate their affaires, and repayring to Ravenna, had accesse to Amalasuntha, whom privately he acquainted with the Emperours propositions; and openly presented the Letter, which was thus. You detaine "from us our Castle of Lilybaum; you have entertayned our sugitive Souldiers, and "do not yet send them back; you have also used our City of Gratiana with extrea-"mity without cause; from all which you are to judge what the conclusion is "likely to be. Amalasuntha to this Letter returned this answer. It were more "fit for a great Emperour, and one who pretends to virtue, to affift an Orphan, ig-" norant of these passages, then upon no ground to quarrell with him; no victory bringing credit, when the opposition is not equall. You expostulate for Lilybaum, and ten fugitives, and an Errour of Souldiers marching against their Enemyes, "unwittingly committed upon a City in Amity with us. Do not thus, O Empe-"rour! But thinke how in your invalion of the Vandales wee gave you no impedi-"ment, nay gave you quiet paffage, and free market freindly of what you needed, "cheifely of Horses in such abundance, as with them principally you vanquisht "your Enemyes. Not onely he who fends his neighbour aydes, is a freind and an "Affociate, but he also who readily furnishes him for the warr with necessaryes. "Confider how then your Navy had no place to put into, but Sicily, nor could "go into Affrick without what was there bought. So that the principall cause of your Victory is from us; who releiving you in time of need, may lay a clayme to "the good fuccesse: and what greater contentment, O! Emperour, could you have, then to subdue your Enemyes? nay it is a great wrong to us, not to receive according

"cording to the Law of Wao, our share in the spoyles: Whereas you feek to take "Lilybaum from us, long appertaining to the Goths, and a poor Rock not worth "the money (in case it did belong to your Empire) which in reason you ought to recompence Atalaries with, for affifting you in your greatest needs. Thus Amalafantha wrote publickly, but in private promised to deliver Italy to the Emperour; to whom the Ambaffadors at their Return to Conftantinople related all: Alexander concerning Amalasuntha's Resolution; and Demetrius and Hyparius what they had in trust from Theodutus, and how having great power in Infeany, and being Lord of a large Countrey, he could easily performe his promises. The Emperour being over joyed with it, fent forthwith into Italy, Peter, an Illyrian by Race, but borne in The falonica, and an Oratour in Constantinople, a wife, milde man, and of great ability to perswade. In the mean time the Tufcans accused Theodains to Amala funtha for his oppressions; and for intruding not onely into the Lands of common persons, but into the Royall demeans, called Patrimonium. Amalasunthe called him to his answer, and upon expresse conviction; compelled him to reflore his unlawfull Intrusions, which infinitely offended Theodatus, and made him her Enemy, being vexed that hee could not use his sinne of oppression. About the fame time Atalarick dyed of his confumption, having raigned eight years. And Amalafuntha (ordayned for a mischeife ) without confidering Theodains nature, nor her late proceeding against him, imagined by some extraordinary good Turne to oblige him from hurting her. She fent for him, and to appeale him, told him; "That the had long foreseene her Sonnes end, by the dayly wasting of his Body "and the opinion of the Phylitians; that the found the Goths and Italians inclined "to him, being of Theodoricks blood; That thee endeavored therefore to purge; him of afpertions, which might hinder his calling to the Kingdome; that thee was affortroubled in the point of Justice, if men wrong'd should complayine, to have none to make their cases knowne to, but to have their Adversary their Lord. "But now being clear, thee invited him to the Kingdom: But they must binde them-"selves by solemne outhes, for him to continue the name of King, and her felfe to "continue her former power. Theodarns Iwore what shee pleased, with a false listent, remembring how free had need him formerly. Thus Amalafunsha, deceaved by her owne Countells, † placed Theodatus in the government, and fent fome Goths to Constantinople to acquaint Justinian with her proceedings.

Anno Domini , 534. Justiniani 8.

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Theodatus being in possession of the Kingdome, did quite contrary to her hopes, and his own Ingagements. He drew to him many principal Goths, kinsmen to such as shee had put to death; some of Amalasuntha's party he suddenly killed, and put her selfe in safe custody in a strong castle in an Island upon the Lake of Vulsimisin Instany. But searing that the Emperour might be offended at it, (as indeed he was) he fent Liberius and Opilio, two Senators of Rome, and others to make his Excuses and to affure the Emperour, that Amalafuntha had no harme, though thee had done him extreame Injury formerly. This he wrote to the Emperour, and made Amala untha write as much. The Emperour in the meane time had infire ded Peter to get private speech with Theodatus, and to give his Oath to conceal the negotiation, and so to make Tuscany sure; to deale likewise with Amalosuncha, and to conclude for all Italy, but publickly to pretend his Ambassage for Litybusms, and the rest before mentioned. For of the death of Atalarick or succession of Theodatm, or of the Fortune of Amalasantha, the Emperour had not yet heard. Perrupon the way met Amalasantha's Ambassadors, and heard of the Succession of Timmans. Shortly after at Appollonia upon the Jonian gulfe he met with Library and Opilio; and was informed of all the passages. He advertised the Emperous and stayed there: Who thereupon intending to imbroyle Theodarus and the Geths, wrote Letters to Amalasumba, of his Resolution to take her part, and sent instructions to Peter to professe the same openly to Theodatus, and all the Goths; Whose Ambasfadors being arrived at Confiantinople, Liberins, who was a very honest man, and carefull to speake no untruth, and the rest acquainted the Emperour with the whole matter; onely Opilio protested that Theodatus had not wronged the person of Analuntha. But before Peter came into Italy, Amalasuntha was murdered; The kinsmen of those put to death by her alledging to Theodatus, that neither he, nor they could be safe, if shee were not made out of the way. So with his permission, they went to the Island, and killed her. Which much greived the rest of the Goshs, and all the Italians. For (as I sayd before) shee was a woman strongly bent to all kinde of virtue. Peter protested openly to Theodatus and the Goshs, that for this soule fact there should be implacable war between the Emperour and them. They datus was so absurd, as albeit he graced Amalasuntha's Murderers, yet he would perswade Peter, and the Emperour, that the villany was committed by no allowance of his, but much against his will.

†Anno 9. Just.
The Gothick
warrenow begins, and is
Annus 1 bel.
Goth.begin.
Anno Domini 535.

At the same time Belisarius had newly conquered Gelimer, and the Vandeles; and the Emperour advertized of Amalasuntha's mil-fortune, presently entred into this war, in the | ninth yeare of his Raigne : He commanded Mundus, Generall of Hlyrium, to march into Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and to attempt Salona. Mundus was a Barbarian borne, but much affected to the Emperour, and a good Souldier. Belifarius he fent with a fleete, having 4000 Legicnaries and Confederates, and 3000 Haurians. Commanders of marke there were Constantinus and Bessas, Thracians, and Peranius of the Iberia next to Media, but he revolted from the Persian, and was now of the Emperours side. Captaines of Horse were Valentinus, Magnus and Innocentius. Offoote, Herodian, Paulus, Demetrius & Ursicinus; of the Haurians Ennes was Leader, There were also 200 auxiliary Hunnes, and 300 Moores. Generall with absolute power was Belifaring, who had with him many Lanciers and Targettiers of his guard, tryed men. With him went also Phorius, the Sonne of his wife Antonina by a former Husband, a discreet young man, and shewing an Ability above his years. The Emperours instructions to Belifa rins were, to pretend the voyage for Carthage, but upon some pretext to attempt Sicily, and if he found it feafible and easie, to subdue it, and not to quit it upon any tearms; but if he found Impediment, to fayle away to Affrick, without difcovering his intent : He wrote likewise this Letter to the Princes of the Franch. "The Goths have by force taken from us Isaly, which they not onely refuse to re"flore, but adde unsufferable injuryes: which constrayne us to send an Army a-" gainst them, and you have reason to joyne with us in the war, which our Ortho-"doxe Religion rejecting Arrianisme, and our equal Enmity with the Goths makes common to us both. The Emperour accompanied this Letter with liberall gifts, and promise of more, when they came to the businesse; they readily promised to joyn with him. But Mundus in Dalmatia had a battell with the Goths, was victorious and got Salone. And Belifaring landing in Sicily, tooke Catana; and from thence got Syracuse by composition, and the other townes without any difficulty. The Goths onely in Panormus prefuming upon their walls, and strong Towne, refused to yeild. Belifarius finding it by Land impregnable, fayled with the fleete into the Haven, which reaches to the walls, none being there neither without nor within, to oppose him therein: The ships being at Anchor, had their Masts higher then the Battlements. Belifarins filled his Cock boates with Archers, which he hung fall to the Mast tops, and the Enemy being thereby shot upon their heads, their hearts fainted, and they furrendred Panormus to him by composition; then all Sicily became tributary to the Emperour, where Belifarius had a fortune beyond expression. He had received the consulthip upon his conquest of the Vandales, and in the last day of it he conquered Sicily, and rode into Syracuse, applauded by the Army and Sicilians, and throwing peices of gold among them. This was not so appointed, but it was his fortune that very day to recover the Island to the Romans, and to ride into Syracuse, and there to lay down his Consulship at the end of his yeare, and not as the use is, in the Senate house of Constantinople. Peter, upon the newes of thefe faceffes of Belifarius urged Theodatus, and frighted him : And he, his heart fayling, came to a secret conference with Peter, and to this accord; That Theodatus should surrender the whole Island of Sicily to the Emperour, and should yearly fend him a crowne of Gold of three hundred pound weight, and three thoufand fighting Goths, when ever he should require them. And that he should not kill, or conflicate the goods of any Priest, or Senatour, without the Emperours affent; "Nor make any Patrician or Senatour by his owne authority; but be a Sutor for it to the Emperour: That the common people in their acclamations shall alwayes name the Emperour first; In the Theaters, Circus, or elsewhere, he must not erect any Statue to himselfe alone, but ever another to the Emperour, which is to stand to the right hand of his owne.

#### CHAP. V.

THeodatus subscribed the accord, and dismist the Ambassadour; but presently his cowardize drave him to endlesse searces, and the thought of a Warre vexed him, which he instantly expected, if the Emperour should not allow the fayd conditions. He sent for Peter, being gone as far as into Albania, secretly to communicate something to him; and ask't him, if he thought the Emperour would like "the accord; who answered, that he thought so. But if he do not, said the other, "what will follow? A warre Noble Sir, quoth Peter. And is that just? replyed he; "Why not just (quoth Peter) for every man to be constant in his own addictions? "Theodatus ask t, what he meant by that? Because, quoth he, your addiction is to "Philosophy; and the Emperour fustinians to be Noble; The difference is, that "for you, professing Philosophy, and that from the Schoole of Plato, to cause the "death of so many men, is not decent, but wicked, not to be absolutely cleere of "murder; But for him to challenge the ancient appurtenances of his Empire, is not unreasonable. Theodatus perswaded by the advice, agreed to quit the Kingdom to Instinian; and to that effect himselfe and his Wife took their Oaths; and he bound Peter by oath not to discover this to the Emperour, before he perceived him not to accept the former accord; and with him he fent Rusticus, a Priest, a Roman borne, and his Favourite. These at Constantinople acquainted the Emperour with the first accord; who not accepting the conditions, they shewed the second agreemeut, contained in a letter written by him, thus. I am no stranger to a Court, O "Emperour! being born in the Palace of the King mine Unkle, and bred as became "my birth. Indeed in the tumults of War I have no skill, my love of learning and "exercises therein, have removed me from the noise of Battailes. So that I have "no reason to be ambitious of Kingdomes, nor to live in dangers; having meanes "to avoid both, neither pleasing me. The first, as all other sweets, being ever pu-"nisht with satiety: And the other, vexing a man that is not used to it. If there-"fore I may have lands in possession of the yearly value of 12. Centenaries of gold, "I shall prefer them before a Kingdome; and will surrender to you the Dominion "of the Goths and Italians. I shall be more contented to live a Husband-man, then "in the cares and multiplying dangers of a Kingdome. Send to me therefore spee-"dily some man, to whom I may resign Italy, and the State. The Emperour infinitely over-joyed, returned this answer. I ever took you for a wife man, and now my experience assures it, in that you depend not on the uncertaine event "of a War, by which some have undone themselves already; and you shall never "repent for having made us a friend of an Enemy; your demands you shall have, "with this addition, to be advanced to the prime honours of the Roman State. I "have fent Athanasius, and Peter to make our selves sure by some Articles; and Be-"lifarins shall be speedily fent to put a conclusion thereunto. The Emperour accordingly fent Athanasius brother to that Alexander lately sent Ambassador to Atalaricus, and the afore-named Peter, with Instructions, to allot lands to Theodatus of the Emperours Demeans; and having by writings and oath perfected the accord; to call in Belifarius from Sicily to take possession of the Imperial Palaces, and Itab, and the custody thereof: And he directed Belifarius, being fent for, instantly to go over.

During this negotiation, an Army of Goths led by Asinarius, and Gripas, entred Dalmatia; and neer Salone were encountred by Mauritius the sonne of Mundus, who with a few went out to discover only. They made a surious charge,

Bb

and the best of the Goths fell, but the Romans almost all, and Mauritius their Lea-Munaus was much grieved at the newes, and in his passion marched against the Enemie with no good order. The Battail was stifly fought, and the Romans got a Caamaan victory, cleerly defeating the Enemy, and cutting off the most part. But Mundus killing and chafing at adventure, as enraged for the loffe of his fonne, was wounded and flain by a Run-away; Whereupon the Execution ceased, and the Armies parted. Then did the Romans remember a verse of Sibyll, famous, and seeming formerly to foretel some strange prodigie; That when Affricke should again come under the Romans, Mundus cum suo semine interibit. But in the Oracle it was not so exprest; but having intimated the said return of Affricke, it sayes Quod tune Mundus cum filio interibit. Mundus lignifying the world in Latine, they conceived it to be meant of the world. But into Salone no man entred; The Romans destitute of a Generall retired home; and the Goths, having lost their cheife men, kept close in their Garrisons, having no confidence in the Fortifications of Salona, and the Romans inhabiting it being not their friends. Theodatus upon the newes hereof flighted the Ambassadors, being naturally slippery and faithlesse; The present fortune ever drew him either into fenfeless fears not sutable to the occasion, or into excessive. presumption. As now upon the newes of Mundus, and Mauritius, he was exalted, not proportionably to the accident, and he flowted the Ambaffadors, being now with him. Peter once expostulating his breach of agreements, he called him into publique, and faid, "That Ambassadors indeed are persons of respect, and by "all men honoured; but that they preserve this priviledge, and the honour of their places by moderation onely. For men use to put an Ambassador to death if "he demeane himself insolently to a Kings person, or lye with another mans Wife. Theodatus faid not thus, as thinking Peter to kave layen with any mans Wife; but to shew that there were crimes in an Ambassador punishable with death. But the Ambassadors made him this answer. "O Prince of the Goths! upon such mistaken, "unfound pretences do not you violate the persons of Ambassadors. An Ambas-"fador, if he would, cannot be an Adulterer; who can hardly have so much as the "use of water, without the privity of those that guard him. For words (though "harsh ) if he utter such as he received from his Master, not he, but his Master is to "beare the blame; An Ambassadors onely part is, to execute the service. And "we, what we have received from the Emperour, will utter it all, and you are pa-"tiently to heare us. If you be angry, you have no help, but to abuse men that are "Ambassadors. It is high time for you to perform your Covenants with the Em-" perour; For which purpose we are sent hither. His letters to your selfe you have; "another, directed to the principall Goths, we will deliver only to themselves. The " great Officers being present, bad them give the Letter to Theodatus; which was "thus. Our care is, to receive you into our State; for which you ought to re-"joyce; For you shall mingle with us, not for your diminution, but to adde " more value to you. We invite not the Gothe to Countries strange, and unknown "to them; but to our felves, fometimes their familiars, though for a time divided "from them. Athanasius and Peter are sent about this businesse, whom you are " to affift in all things.

CHAP.

# CHAP. VI.

Theodains perused all the letters, but refused to perform the agreements, and put a strait guard upon the Ambassadors. The Emperour advertized hereof, and of the successes in Dalmatia, sent into Illyrium Constantianus, Master of his Horse, to gather an Army, and attempt Salona; and he directed Belisarius without delay to passe into Italy, and make War upon the Goths. Constantianus at Epidamnus stayed some time, and raised Forces. Gripas in the meane time had entered Salona with the Goths. And Constantianus having made his preparations, lest Epidamnus with his Fleet, and \* cast Anchor at Epidamrus, standing to the right hand, as you saile into the Jonian gulph. Some here sent by Gripas to discover, seeing the land Army, and the Ships covering (as they imagined) Land and Sea, reported to Gripas, that Constantianus had many thousands. He afraid, thought it not best to encounter them; Neither would he willingly be besieged by the Emperours Army, Master of the Sea. The walls of Salona much decayed troubled him too; and he could not trust the Inhabitants.

For these reasons he removed from thence, and encamped in a champian between Salona, and the Citie of Croton. Constantianus wayed Anchor from Epidaurus, and came before Lysene upon the gulph. Hence he sent some to discover, and report concerning Gripas; from whom understanding how it was, \* he made for Salona. Where arrived, he landed, and rested his Army upon the place; and he directed Siphyllas, one of his Life-guard, with 500. choicin men, to possesse a narrow passage in the Suburbs of Salona; which he performed. And the next day Constantianus entered the Citie with the Land army, and the Fleet lay before it at Anchor. He rooke care of the walls, and repaired the decayes; And Gripas seeing the Romans masters of Salona, seven dayes after rose, and transported the Goths over to Ravenna. So Constantianus tooke in Dalmatia, and Liburnia, and the Goths there inhabiting. And then ended the Winter, and the first year of this Warre, written by

Procopius.

Belisarius leaving Garrisons in Syracusa, and \* Panormus, passed over his Army from Messina to Rhegium, where the Poets sain Scylla, and Charybais to have been. The Inhabitants came in to him daily, their Towns having been long without walls, and without Garrisons; and they hated the Goths, weary (it seems) of the present Ebrimus also a Goth revolted to him, with his Followers, having Government. marryed Theodatus Daughter, Theodenanthe. He was fent to the Emperour, and besides other bounties, made a Patrician. The Army marcht from Rhegium through Brutia, and Lucania, and the Navy kept close to the Coast. In Campania they sate downe before Naples, a strong maritime Citie, with a great Garrison in it of Goths. The Fleet Belifarius commanded to lye at Anchor, without Bow-shot in the Har-Then he took the Castle in the Suburbs by composition. He gave the Citizens leave to fend him some chiefe men, to acquaint him with what they had to say, and hearing his Propositions, to report them to their Communalty. The Napolitans fent him Stephanus, who spake thus to Belisarius. "It is not just, O Gene-"rall! to bring your Army upon Romans, and who never wrong'd you, having "a small Citie", and the Barbarians within our Masters; that we cannot do as we would: Nay the Souldiers of our Garrison have left under Theodatus their "Wives and Children, and most precious things, that by practifing upon us, they "should not more betray our Town, then themselves. But if we may say the truth without mincing, you have advited ill to invade us. For take Rome first, and " Naples is yours without difficulty; but repulsed from thence, you can never be "fure of this Towne. So that you will spend time impertinently in this siege. Be-"lifarius made Stephanus this answer. We meane not to referre it to the Napoli-"tans, whether We be here upon good, or bad advice. We defire you to confult "of what concerns your felves, and to choose your owne best advantage. Enter-"taine therefore the Emperours Armie, come to free you and all Italy; and doe "not prefer the most forrowfull things. Such as make War to shake off slavery, or "other base condition, gaine in vanquishing, with the victory, freedome from B b 2

\*Ragusa
stands now
where about
this was, upon
the gulfe of
Venice.

The Gothick war began in the Spring, which begins exactly 11. Martii, the Sun entring into Aries. Juftinian began to reign alone after Justins death on the first of July, faith Evagrius: And with Justin the 3.
day before Eafter. vide Secret. Hift. cap.

\* Annus. 2. Rell. Goth. incipit. being in Io. Iustiniani, et Ann. Doni, 536. "misery; and being vanquished are yet comforted for not having willingly sub"mitted to a wretched fortune. But such as may be free without fighting, and yet
"will fight to establish their own servitude; if they conquer, they do but more
"ruine themselves; and if they have the worse, they adde to their other wretched.
"nesse, the calamity of a deseate. This he sayd to the Napolitans. To the Goths
"we give Liberty either to serve the Emperour with us, or to retire home with"out harme. If you slight all this, and imploy your armes against us, we shall use
"you as Enemies: But if the Napolitans will joyne with the Emperour, and be rid
"of a sharpe servitude; I will pawn my faith for such conditions, as the Sicilians
"had, who cannot say we are forsworne. This Belisarius commanded Stephanus
to impart to the people; promising him great rewards, if he drew them to the Emperour. Stephanus acquainted the City with these propositions, and with his
owne opinion of the inconvenience of resisting the Emperour. With him joyned
Antiochus a Syrian merchant, who had long dwelt there, and was esteemed a very
wise and an honest man.

# CHAP. VII.

Out Pastor and Asclepiodotus, two Orators much esteemed in Naples, and freinds Dto the Goths, to crosse the treaty, drew the people to propound great things, and many, and that Belifarius would swear to their present obtaining the same: And they gave to Stephanus demands in writing, which they thought Belifaring would never yeild to. He went to the Camp, shewed the writing to the Generall, demanding if he would grant those propositions, and take his Oath accordingly. He promised to grant all, and sent himaway. The Napolitans imbraced the Capitulation, and commanded the army to be received into the City; which (faid they) may fafely be done, the Sicilians giving us ample proofe, who for Barbarian Tyrants have chosen the Empire of Justinian, and are become free men, and eased of all greivance. And then in much tumult they went to open the gates; which troubled the Goths: but being not able to hinder it, they kept out of the way. But Paftor and " Asclepiodotus affembled the people, and spake thus. It is not strange for a City-" multitude to ruine it felfe, when they will refolve in the generall absolutely, without communicating with the better fort. But being with you upon the point of de-"firuction, we cannot but contribute this last advise to our country. You are run-"ning to deliver your felves, and City to Belisarins, who promifes much, and will "folemnly swear to it. If he could affure you, that he shall conquer in this war, no "man can gainfay, but that these things will be good for us. It were foolish not to "gratifie him that is to be our Lord; but since this is uncertaine, and since none "can fecure the Resolutions of Fortune; consider for what miseries you may take "this pains. For the Goths overcoming, wil punish you for having done them the grea-" test despight, revolting thus not forced by necessity, but as willing cowards. Nay "even Belifarius himself being Victor will esteeme us false, and Traitors to our Prin-"ces; and as such, we must expect a perpetuall garrison upon us. A Traitors service "pleases for the present with the victory obtained, but afterward the Victor suspects, "fears, and hates his Benefactor, having with him the marks of his fallhood. But con-"tinuing true to the Goths, and valiant in this danger, if they conquer, they will do "us many good turnes; and Belifarins getting the victory will pardon us. No un-"derstanding man will punish a good affection failing of successe. And why fear you "this feige? being in no wants, nor blockt up; but at home, secured by these walls "and fouldiers? If Belifarius could hope to force us, he would not come to this ca-"pitulation: and if he would do justly, and us good, he would not fright us thus, and "establish a power upon our wronging the Goths, but come roundly to a battell "with them, that we without danger or Treason might follow the Conquerour. Ha-"ving thus faid, they produced fewes, who affured the town should want nothing: "and the Goths promised to guard them safely. Wherewith perswaded, they defied "Belifarins; who fell to affault, and was often repulsed with losse of many, and even

of his valiantest men. For the walls what by reason of the sea, and for the steepe ground, were unaccessible, and not to be approacht by an enemy. And the cutting of the Aquadult by Belisarius troubled not the Napolicans much, their wells within supplying their uses: And they sent to Theodatus to Rome, to send them succours. Theodatus being a coward (as I have faid) made little preparation for a warre: and he had an accident (they fay, but not credibly to my conceit ) which put him into great fear. Theodatus was acquainted ever with men thar pretend to foretell things to come; and being now perplexed with the present affaires ( when men use most to runne after prophesies) he askt an Hebren, famous for such things, what would be the event of the War. He directed him to flut up three halfe scores of Hoggs severally, and to each ten to give severall names, of Goths, Romans, and the Emperours Souldiers, and so for a certain number of dayes to let them alone. Theodarns at the appointed day went to the sties, to see the Hoggs. Those which were called Gaths, he found all dead, save two: Those called the Emperours Souldiers, were allmost all alive: And those who bare the name of Romans were halfe living, and all with their haires fallen off. Theodatns by this divined the successe of the war, and was affraid: perceiving that one halfe of the Romans should perish, and all loofe their Estates; that the Goths should be vanquisht; and reduced to a small remnant, and that the Emperour should get the victory with the losse of few. this he was affraid to fight with Belifarius; who belieging Naples was troubled, not thinking it would yeild, and being not able to force the difficulty of the place : and his loffe of time vexed him, fearing to be put to fet upon Theodatus and Rome in But having directed the army to rife, and being thus perplexed, he the winter. had this fortune,

# CHAP. VIII.

N Isaurian, curious to see the structure of the Aquaduct, and how it brought A water to the City, entred it far from the city where Belisarius had cut it, (which had made it dry ) and being come in neer to the town-wall, he met with a Rock to which the Aquæduct was joyned, and through it was cut a vault', not fufficient for a man to enter, but only to let through the water; fo that there the Aquaduct was not passable, especially by a manarmed with sheild and corslet. The Isaurian observing it, conceived that by widening the vault forces might enter; and being himself an obscure man, unknown to the Commanders, he revealed it to Pancaris, a Targettier of the guard to Belisarius, who told it to Belisarius; and he revived with the newes promifed the man mony, and perswaded him to take some Isanrians, and with speed and secrecy to cut the rock wider. Pancaris, with some choice Isaurians fit to worke, entred silently the Aquæduct, and being come to the Rock and narrow Vault, they wrought, not cutting it with hatchets and axes, left the noise should discover them, but paring and filing it with instruments of iron; and in short time there was roome for a man with his sheild and corslet on to go through. All being ready, Belifarius confidered, how the army entring by force, there would be slaughter and such things as befall places forced by Enemies. He fent therefore for Stephanm, and fayd to him thus. I have been at the taking of many Cities, and " and am acquainted with the usuall accidents therein. They kill the men of all ages; "the women they vouchfafe not to kill, though they beg it, but lead them away for "base and pitifull uses. The children without other Education must learne to serve "their greatest enemies, whose hands are stained with their Fathers bloud. I speake "not of the fire which wil consume your goods, and the beauty of your city. Behol-"ding as in a glasse in other ruined cities, the miseries of Naples, I pity it. For my "engins are ready, wherewith I shall not faile to take it. And while I am Generall; "I would not have an ancient city, long inhabited with Christians and Romans, come "to this fortune: the rather having in the army Barbarians, enraged for the loffe of "brothers and kindred, whom I shall not be able to restraine; if they enter by hossist "ty. So that chuse the best for your selves while you may, and avoyd this calamity; which happening (as it will) blame not fortune, but your owne Counsells. Stephanus weeping, reported to the People this Speech of Belifarius: But they (whole Subjection to the Emperour was to be accompanied with their mischiefe) feared

not, nor thought of yeilding.

Then did Belifarius about Evening chuse out 400. men, and gave the Command of them to Magnus, a Captaine of Horse, and Ennes, Commander of the Isaurians. whom he directed to stand ready with their Corselets on, and with Swords and Shields, till he should give the Signall. And he sent for Bellas, to advise with him of fome things of Importance. Far within night, he told Magnus and Ennes the bufnesse, shewed them the place, where he had cut the Aquaduct, and commanded them to lead the 400. men into the City, taking Lights, and two Trumpeters, to affright the Towne, and to fignifie to him what they did. Himselfe had many scaling Ladders in readinesse. They entred the Aquæduct, and went towards the Town, and himselfe, with Bestas and Photius, staid in the place, directing the Army to stand with their Armes ready; and keeping many of the Valiantest men about himselse. More then the one halfe who were to enter, apprehending the danger, came back to the Generall, and Magnus with them: after much exhorting them to go on, but not prevailing, Belisarius rated them, and gave Magnus 200. other of his owne Retinew, whom Photins would have led, and first entred the vault; but Belifarins forbad him. The Run-awaies ashamed at the reprehensions of Belifarius, took hart, and followed the rest. Belifarius, least the Enemies sentinels upon the Turret next the Aquaduct should discover them, went thither, and bad Bessas talke with the Goths in their owne Language, that they might not heare the clashing of the Armes. Beffas aloud called to them to yeild, promiting many Advantages; And they flouted him with scornefull Speeches against Belisarius, and the Emperour. The Aquaduct, is not onely covered without the Walls, but so continues with a high Arch of Brick a great way within; that Magnus and Ennes being within the City, could not imagine where-about they were, nor finde where to get up, till their fore-most men came, where they found the Roose uncovered, and where stood a Cottage, and in it dwelt a Woman alone, and very poore; and at the top of the Aquaduct grew an Olive Tree. The men perceiving the Skie, and themselves in the midst of the City, would willingly get up, but could not with their Armes, the Building being high, and without Steps. Being long in doubt, and beginning to be crowded with the Company pressing behinde them; one of them, having a minde to make triall, laid downe his Armes, and clambered up; and finding the poore Woman in the Cottage, threatned to kill her, if she made any noise. She astonisht, sate mute; and he tying a Rope to the Olive Tree, threw the other end into the Aquæduct, by which the Souldiers mounted one by one. All being up, and but a fourth part of the Night remaining, they ascended the Wall, and killed the Sentinels upon two Turrets on the North fide, where Belisarius, Beffas, and Photius stood expecting the Event. They called them to the Walls with their Trumpets, and Belisarius set to the scaling Ladders, commanding the Souldiers to mount. The Ladders were too short, the Work-men having not made them upon view, and so not judging of a just scantling. But they tied two together, and so mounted the Battlements. That part of the Walls next the Sea, where the Jewes guarded, the Souldiers could not ascend. For the fewes had offended the Enemy, in hindering a peaceable furrender of the Towne, and so being hopelesse, (if subdued) they fought valiantly, though the Towne were entered; and they indured beyond Expectation. But day appearing, and being charged behinde by some who were entred already, they fled; and Naples was absolutely taken, and the Gates set open; where the rest of the Army entred. Those who were quartered Eastward, having no Ladders, burnt open the Gates there, the Guards being all run away. A great Slaughter was made; all being angry, and especially such as had Brothers, or Kinf-men flaine in the former Affaults; and they killed all, sparing no Age; broke into the Houses, and made the Women and Children Slaves, and pillaged the Goods; principally the Massagetes, who spared not the Churches, but killed many who fled into them; till Belifarius rode about and restrained them, and as-"fembling the Army, spake thus. Since God hath given us Victory, and the glory " of fubduing a City, heretofore impregnable; let us not prove unworthy of the "Favour, but by our Clemency to the Vanquished, make it appeare, that we have "justly overcome them. Do not without limit extend your hatred to the Napoli"tans, beyond the Rules of War. No Conquerours continue hating the Vanquish"ed; if you kill them now, you are not rid of Enemies, but indamaged by the
"death of your Subjects. So that do them no further harm, nor gratifie you owne
"Anger. It is base, having conquered your Enemies, to be overcome by your owne
"Passion. Take the Wealth, as the Reward of your Valour; but restore the Wo"men and Children, and let the Conquered finde by the Events, what kinde of
"Friends they lost by their owne ill Counsels. Belisarius having thus said, released all their Women and Children, and other Prisoners, without enduring any Dishonour, and reconciled the Souldiers to them. So in the same day the Napolitans had the Fortune to be made Slaves, and to recover their Liberty, with the most precious of their Goods; having hid their Gold, and things of Value from the Enemy, under ground, and so found them upon the Restitution of their Houses. Thus ended this Seige, having lasted twenty daies.

# CHAP. IX,

THE Gothish Garrison, being 800. men, Belisarius took, and hurt not, but respected them as his owne Souldiers. Pastor, when he saw the Towne taken, fell dead of an Apoplexy, having never had any touch of it before; Asclepiodotus his affociate, with some other chiefe men, came to Belisarius, whom Stephanus feeing, Thou vildest of all men (quoth he) what mischiese hast thou done thy "Country-men, and fold their safety for Barbarians Favour? If they had prof-"pered, thou wouldst have claimed Rewards, and accused us of Conspiracy with the Romans, who gave the best Counsels. And now the City being the Emperours, "and we preferved by this mans Virtue, dar'ft thou thus foolifhly come to him? as if cleare of all differvice to the Neapolitans, and the Imperiall Army? Stepha-"mus in passion for the Disaster uttered this. But he answered him; Worthy Sir, "you unwittingly extoll me, in that you raile at me for my affection to the Goths. "None loves his Superiours in danger, but from a constant mind. Me the Victors "shall finde a Defender of their State, as lately their Enemy. A faithfull man "changeth not his Minde with Fortune, nor entertaines Propositions from Ene-"mies in an alteration. But he that is fick of Inconstancy, renounces his Friends "upon his first feares. Having thus said, and retiring, the common people fol-lowed and charged him with their Sufferings, and left him not, till they had killed him, and torne him in peeces. And they entred Paftors house, searching, and not beleiving the Servants Affirmation of his Death, till they faw his Body; which they cracified in the Suburbes; then excused their doings to Belisarius upon fuch just provocation; and obtaining Pardon, went home.

But the Goths in Rome, and other Townes that way, wondred to fee Theodatus fo tame, not offering to fight with the Romans, being his fo neere Neighbours: And they suspected him to betray their State to Justinian, caring onely to live at ease himselfe, and to be rich. When they heard that Naples was taken, they affembled at Regêta 35. miles from Rome, and accused him openly. The place they found fit to encamp in, being neere to a faire Champian, and to the River of Decampius, fo called, because having made a compasse of 19. miles, it enters the Sea about the City of Taracina. Neere unto which is the Mountaine Circaum, where they fay Viffes had the Company of Circe, improbably in my conceit; Homer afirming Circus house to be in an Island. Indeed Circum runs far into the Sea, and feemes an Island along the Shore to the Sailer: but being in it, he findes his miftaking. Upon this reason Homer might call it an Island. But the Goths affembled at Regeta, chose Vitigis their King, a man of no conspicuous Family: but in Fights about Sirmium, against the Gepades ( with whom Theodorick had War ) he got great Reputation. Theodatus hearing this, ran away to Ravenna: after him Visigis fent Optaris a Goth, to bring him alive, or dead. This Optaris had a pique against Theodarus: for having betroathed a handsome Maid, an Inheritrix, Theodarus perswaded her for Wealth to marry another man. So that to gratise his owne An-

ger

broader

ger, and Vitigis too, he pursued Theodatus eagerly day and night: And overtaking him upon the way, laid him upon his back like a Beast, and cut his Throat. This end made Theodatus in the third yeare of his Reigne.

# CHAP. X.

Vitigis then marcht to Rome, glad of the newes of Theodatus Death, and he put his Son Theudegisclus in safe Custody. From thence, finding things yet in no good preparation, he thought it best to go to Ravema, and having there compleatly furnished himselfe, to enter into the War. He assembled therefore the Goths; and spake thus unto them Great Actions, fellow Souldiers, prosper not 'commonly by fuddaine Opportunities, but by folid Counfels; feafonable delaying often doing good, and many undoing their hopes by undue haft. For men unprovided, though equall in numbers, are more easily beaten in Fight, then though inferiour in Powers, yet well prepared. Let us not therefore, provoked with the present honour, hurt our selves incurably. It is better with a short difgrace to preferve a perperual Reputation, then avoding it for a moment, to be ever confounded with Ignominy. \* Our maine numbers, and our magazines are in Gaule, and Venetia, and other remote Parts. We have also a War with the 'France; which before we have settled, to enter into another, is folly. Who flands between two Enemies, and hath not his eye upon one at once, is commonly ruined by both. I fay then, that we ought to go to Ravenna, and having agreed the War with the Francks, and disposed our businesse, then to fight with Belisarius. Let none be ashamed, or feare that this Retraite will be called a ' running away. A feafonable Imputation of Cowardize hath crowned many a 'man with Successe: And the name of Valour, gotten by some before the time, hath ended in a Defeat. Let us not affect Names, but reall Advantages. Actions in their conclusions, not beginnings, shew the worth of men. They run not away, who returns upon the Enemy with greater preparations; but who hide themfelves, as if they would keep their Bodies ever alive, And of this City be not affraid. If the Romans be well affected to us, they will secure it for us; being to 'indure no extremity in the short time before we returne. If they be unfure, they 'will hurt us leffe by receiving the Enemy into their City; it being ever best to Encounter men that hate us in an open way. But this also I shall prevent; 'leaving in it a strong Garrison, and an able Commander; and that being so setled, we can have no hurt by this Retrait. The Goths approved this advise of Vitigis, and prepared for the Journey. Then Vitigis using many Exhortations to Liberius the Bishop of Rome, the Senate and People, to think of Theodoricks Reigne, and to continue their affections to the Gothish Nation, he bound them in strong Oathes; And leaving to guard Rome 4000 men under Lenderis, a man ancient, and much esteemed for his Wisedome, he marcht to Ravenna with the rest of his Army, taking the most part of the Roman Senators with him in the quality of Hostages. There he married perforce Mattafuntha, a Beautifull Virgin, the Daughter of Amalafuntha, that by alliance with the Blood of Theodorick he might make his Reigne firme. Then he affembled the Gothi from all parts, and ranckt them in order, distributing Horses and Armes to them. Those onely lying in Gaule, for searc

of the Francks, he fent not for.

The Francks were formerly called Germans, where they first inhabited: and how they incroached upon Gaule, and then fell out with the Goths, I will tell you. I said before, how from Calis and the Ocean, into the Mediterranean, the lest hand continent is called Europe; and that against it, Africk, and further on, Asia. The Countries beyonds Africk I can say nothing of, being not inhabited; whereby the Spring of Nile is unknowne, which, they say, comes from those Parts. But Europe at the first is like Pelopones so, having the Sea on both sides. The first Province from the Ocean is named Spaine, unto the Alpes, which are in the Pyrenaan Mountaines (the Natives calling narrow passages, Alpes) From thence Gaule reaches to Liguria, where other Alpes divide the Gaules and Ligurians. Gaule is

\* Leander cals this Venetia Marca Trivigiana. broader then Spaine (for Europe begins narrow, and proceeds to a great breadth by degrees) and it hath the Ocean on the North fide, and on the South the Tyrhene Sea. Among other Rivers it hath the Rhone, and the Rhine, having contrary courses; the Rhone into the Tyrrhene Sea, but into the Ocean the Rhine. Here Lakes also are, where-about anciently these Germans dld inhabit, now called Francks, a Barbarian Nation, and at first not considerable. Beyond them dwelt the † Arborychi, subject formerly to the Romans, as all the rest of Gaule and Spaine.

Augustus planted the Thuringians to the East of the Arborychi, not far from whom to the South inhabited the Burgundians, and beyond the Thuringians the Suevians, and Almans, Potent Nations. All these were free States, and from all Antiquity seated there. In processe of time the Visigoths oppressing the Roman Empire, subdued Spaine, and Gaule, to the River of Poe, and made them tributary. The Arborychi were then become Roman Souldiers, whom the Germans, or Francks, to bring them in Subjection, being their Borderers, and for having abandoned their former Common wealth, pillaged, and made a generall War upon them. In this War the Arborychi shewed much Valour and Affection to the Romans: And the Germans not able to force them, offered to make them their Confederates, which they willingly embraced (both being Christians) and being joyned into one people, they grew into a great power. Other Roman Souldiers also Garrison'd in the Confines of Gaule, being not able to returne to Rome, nor willing to mingle with the Goths their Enemies, and Arrians, yeilded themselves, their Ensignes, and the Country under their Guard to the Arborychi and Germans, which they have left to their Posterity, and preserved the Roman Customes, which to my time they religiously observe. They still are inrolled in the time Bands they anciently served in, have their proper Ensignes in Fights, and use the Roman Lawes, and Habit; and especially the Fashion of their Diadems. The Roman State flourishing, Gaule on this side the Poe was the Emperours; But Odoacer usurping the same, by the Tyrants cession, the Visigoths had all Gallia Cisalpina to f those Alpes, which sever Gaule and Liguria. Odoacer being flaine, the Thuringians and Visigothis, fearing the Germans power (who were grown a strong multitude, subduing all in their way) fought allyance with the Goths: And Theodorick, afterward gladly contracted affinities with them. Thendichusa his Daughter, a young Virgin, he betroathed to Alarick the younger, Prince of the Visigoths; and Amaloberga, the Daughter of his fifter Amalafrida, he affianced to Hermenefridus, Prince of the Thuringians. And the Francks , fearing Theodorick , forbare to force the Vifigoths and Thuring in, but made Warr upon the Burgundians.

† They inhabit (fome fay) Belgia about Brabant,

† The Author calls the Pyreau and the Apeunine by the name of Alges.

# CHAP. XI.

Fterwards the Francks and Goths made a league against the Burgundians, upon conditions to ruine the race of them, and to subdue their Countrey, and that the Conquerours shall have a Fine from the part not joyning in the War, but the Country to be a common conquest of both. The Francks accordingly went with a great Army against the Burgundians. Theodorick made preparations in shew, but delayed the expedition, expecting the event. At last he sent his Army, which he bade march faire and softly; and hearing the Francks to be vanquished, to go no further; but understanding them to be victorious, to march on speedily. They did so; And the Francks in a Battail with the Burgundians stissy sought, with much slaughter, routed the Enemie, and drave them into the uttermost borders of their country (where they had many strong places) and subdued the rest. The Goths hearing it, were speedily with them; and being blamed by their Confederates, they alledged the illwayes, and paying their Fine, divided the Countrey with the Conquerours. And thus Theodorick shewed his great providence, by gaining thus halfe the Countrey with a little money, and without losse of his Subjects: Thus the Goths and Francks held part of Gaule. Afterward the Francks power encreasing, without any search Theodorick, they led an Army against Alarick and the Visitation.

goths. Alarick fent for Theodorick, who marcht with a great Army to his ayde. In the meane time the Visigoths hearing how the Francks befieged Carcasona, encamped themselves neer to oppose them. The siege continuing, and their countrey being spoyled by the Enemy, they murmured, and put scorns upon Alarick, rayling at the delay of his Kinsman, and affirming themselves strong enough without company to beate the Francks. Alarick thus constrained to hazard a Battaile, before the Goths could come, was therein slaine, and many of his people by the Francks, who thus got the greatest part of Gaule. They straightly befieged Carcafona, hearing there was much treasure in it, which Alarick the Elder had pillaged, when he tooke Rome. There were the jewels of King Solomon, goodly pieces, by reason of a green stone in many of them, and long agoe taken by the Romans out of ferusalem. The Visigothis remaining, made Giselick their Prince, a base sonne of Alarick; Amalarick, his Daughters sonne, being a child. But Theodorick coming with the Goths Army, the Francks raised their siege; and returning from thence, held the parts of Gaule beyond the Rhone to the Ocean; from which Theodorick could not drive them, and so let them keep it, and recovered the rest of Gaule. Gifelick also being dead, he made Amalarick his Daughters son Prince of the Visigoths, and himselfe protector of the Child, and out of Carcasona he took the Treasures, and returned to Ravenna. His ayme was to make the Dominion of Spaine and Gaule his owne for ever, fending Forces thither, and Governors, whom he appointed to fend the tributes to him, which (not to appear avaricious) he gave as a yearly donative to his Armies of Goths and Vifigoths: who upon this occasion, of having one Prince and the same Country, marryed with one another, and mingled their races : And afterwards Theudis a Goth (whom Theedorick fent to command the Army ) marryed a Wife of a rich Family of the Spaniards, no Viggoth, but very wealthy, and Lady of a great countrey. He had 2000. Souldiers, and a strong guard of Lanciers, and was in shew as Theodoricks Governour of the Visigoths, but in effect an usurper.

Theodorick grown now an absolute wise man, fearing least while he had a Warr with his owne servant, the Francks might assaile him, and the Visigoths rebell, he discharged not Thendis of his command, but still upon any Warr directed him to lead the Army. Only he got some principall Goths to write to him, that he should do both justly, and as a wise man, to goe to Ravenna, and salute Theodorick. He continued obedient to Theodoricks command, and sailed not in the annuall tribute,

but to Ravenna he would neither goe, nor promise it.

Theodorick being dead, the Francks invaded the Thuringians, killed their Prince Hermenfridus, and held them in subjection. Hermenfridus his Widow fled to Theodatus her Brother, then King of the Goths. Afterward the Francks vanquished the remaining Burgundians in a Battaile, and kept their Prince close prisoner in a Caftle; they used them as men conquered in Warre, made them serve in their Armies, and their Countrey tributary which they dwelt in before. Amalarick Prince of the Visigoths, being at mans estate, and fearing the Francks greatnesse, married the Sister of their King Theudibert: And Gaule he gave to Atalarick his cozen german, King of the Goths. So that Gaule on this side the Rhone the Goths had, and that beyond it was subject to the Visigoths: And they agreed to suppresse the tribute imposed by Theodorick; And the said Atalarick fairly restored to Amalarick the treasures taken out of Carcasson by Theodorick.

The two Nations being joyned thus in allyance, who had married any Wife of the other, might either goe with his Wife, or bring her home to his owne kindred; And some (as they pleased) brought home their Wives, others followed them. Amelarick afterward offended his Wives brother, and was ruined. He was an Arrian, and permitted not his Wife, being orthodoxall, to use her country sufficient, nor religion; but for her not applying her selfe to his customes, hee used her with

much dif-respect.

The Lady acquainted her Brother with her grievance, which put the Francks and Vifigoths, into a War; and in a Battaile long and stoutly fought, Amalarick was vanquisht, with losse of many, and of his own life. Thendibert received his Sifter with all her goods, and so much of Gaule as the Visigoths held. The survivors with their Wives and Children went into Spaine to Thendis, who now openly usurped.

Note.

Beyond the
Rhone in vespect of Italy.

From the Poe and Gallia Cif-Alpina to the Rhone.

Namely Gallia Narbonerfis, or rather fome part of it. ped. So then all Gaule was held by the Francks and Goths: But Theodatus King of the Goths, hearing of Belisarius landing in Sicily, made an accord with the Francks; That they should command in the Warr; and have the Goths part of Gaule, and twenty Centenaries of gold to affift them in this War. But before this treaty was finished, he dyed a s hath been told.

# CHAP. XII,

ND many of the Goths best men under Marcias were Garrison'd in that part of Ganle; These Vitigis could not fafely raise from thence, but thought them rather too weake for the Francks, who would certainly over-run that part of Ganle and Italy, if he with his Army went to Rome. So he called to him those Goths he trusted most, and faid; "I call you here to impart an advice not " pleafing perhaps, but necessary; and you must heare patiently, and in the present "case counsell what becomes you. Whose affaires are not according to their mind, "fuch must obey necessity and fortune, and so manage the occasions presented. "We are excellent well prepared for this War, fave only that the Francks stand in "our way; our ancient Enemies, with whom hitherto, though with the hazard "of our lives and fortunes, we make our party good. But now (another Enemie appearing, against whom we must march) it behoves us to make peace with "them. It they continue Enemies, certainely they will come with Belifarius; "A common Enemy ever combines men in amity and mutuall ayde. And if we en-"counter them severally, we shall be beaten by both: So that it is better by loo-"fing a little, to fave the maine of our Dominions, then by coveting all, to perish "and loofe all. My opinion is, if we give the Francks the parts of Gaule, borde-"ring on them, they will lay down their quarrels, and joyne with us in the Warre. "How to recover those parts upon our good successe, let none examine now : I re-"member an old faying; To fettle well the prefent.

The principall Goths conceiving this course advantageous, resolved upon it, and Ambassadors were sent to the Francks, to surrender Gaule, and pay the money, and to conclude a Confederacy. The Princes of the Franks were then Childebert, Theudebert, and Clotarius, who received that Gaule with the money, and divided it proportionably to every mans dominion; They agreed to be firm friends to the Goths, and to fend them fuccours, not Francks, but of the Nations subject to them. They could not enter into an open War with the Romans, having lately promifed to joyne with the Emperour in this. The Ambassadors having dispatch'd, returned to Ravenna, and Vitigis fent for Marcias and his Troops.

Belifarius in this mean time prepared his journey for Rome. He appointed 300. Foot under Herodian for the guard of Naples. He put a Garrison into Cuma to guard the Castle there; there being no strong place in all Campania, but Naples and Cuma. In Cuma they yet shew Sibyllas Cave, where her Oracle was. It is a maritime Towne, distant sixteen miles from Naples. Belisarius put his Army in order; but the Romans searing the fortune of the Napolitans, resolved to receive the Emperours Army, being moved thereunto chiefly by the Bishop of Rome, Liberius \*. They sent one Fidelius, born in Milan, a City of Liguria, and formerly Quaftor to King Atalaricus, inviting Belisarius, and promising to surrender the Citie. He led his Army by Via Latina, leaving Via Appia on his left hand; which Appius a Roman Consull made 900. years agoe; and it reaches five dayes journey from Rome to Capua: It is broad enough for two Carts a breast, and worth the fight; all the stones being of Mill-stone quarry, and very hard, and brought by Appins from a far countrey. They are smooth wrought, square, and close fastned, without brasse between, or any thing else. They are so well fastned and close, that one would thinke them to grow together. After fo long a time trampling on by Carts, and Beasts every day, there is not the least chink in the pavement, nor any ston broken, nor worn out, nor that hath loft the brightnesse.

But the Gothish Garrison in Rome understanding the Enemies approach, and the

Note. Clouis the first Christian K. of France bad 4. lonnes, Childebert, Theodorick, Clotarius, and Clodomir. Clodomir died without iffue, and Childebert bad bis partage; this Theodebert was sonne of Theodorick. See Agathias, lib. 1. cap. 1.

Note. He calls obis Bilhop of Rome in the fecret History Silverius, And fo Helvicus in bis Chronology.

Romans

The taking of Rome, Anno 11. Iustiniani, Anno Dom. 337.

Romans intent, were troubled; being not able both to guard the Citie, and encounter the Enemie. So that by the Romans permission they left Rome, and went to Ravenna: Only Lenderis (ashamed it seems) staid behind. The same day and houre Belisarius entred Rome with the Emperours Army at Porta Asinaria, and the Gothi went out at Porta Flaminia. Thus Rome was recovered in the II. yeare of Justinians Reign, fixty yeares after the last taking of it. The keyes of it, and Lenderis Belifarius fent to the Emperour : He took care of the walls decayed in many places, and made the turrets tenable against an affault. He made Works upon the left side of every turret, to fecure the Defendants left fide from shot: And about the walls he drew a good deep ditch. The Romans commended the Generalls providence, and chiefly his skill in contriving the turrets : But they murmured, wondring he would enter Rome with an opinion of being belieged, a place unfit for a fiege for want of provisions, being not upon the Sea, and having a huge compasse of walls, and in an open champian easily invested. But he, though he heard all this, yet still prepared for a siege. The corn he brought from Sicily he kept in publique Granaries, and he compelled the Romans ( though they grumbled ) to bring in all their provifions from their Farms.

# CHAP, XIII.

GOTH then, one Pitzas, yeilded to Belifarius halfe Samnium, lying upon the Sea, and the Goths there inhabiting to the River, which divides the countrey. The Goths on the other fide the River, neither would follow Pizzas, nor fubmit to the Emperour. Belifarins gave him some Souldiers to help to guard the Townes there. The Calabrians and Apulians having no Goths, had vo-luntarily before submitted to Belisarius, both in the Mid land, and upon the Seacoast; Of which was Beneventum, anciently by the Romans called Maleventum; now Beneventum, to avoid the reproach of the name : for Ventus in Latine fignifies the Wind : because in Dalmatia over against it uses to blow a rough wind, during which no Traveller is feen upon the wayes; they all shut themselves in their houses. The force of the wind is such, that it snatches up a Horse-man and his Horse together, carries them in the ayre, and throws them down and kills them. And Beneventum standing high, and over against Dalmatia, shares in the inconvenience of this wind. Diomedes built the Citie, being banisht from Argos after the destruction of Troy. It hath a monument of him, the teeth of the Calydonian Bore, the prize of Meleager his Uncle in that famous hunting, which are still there, and worth the seeing, the circumference like a half-moon, being of three spanns. Here they say Diomedes met with Aneas, and according to Minerva's Oracle, gave him the Image stollen by him and Ulifes out of her Temple, when they came as spies into Troy, before the Citie could be taken. Afterward being sick, they say, he consulted the Oracle, which answered, that he should never have ease, unlesse he gave that Image to some Trojan. Where it is the Romans now know not, but thew the figure of it graven in stone, standing to my time in the Temple of Forenne, before the brazen Statue of Minerva in the open ayre, on the East-side of that Temple. It resembles Minerva fighting, and charging her Lance; yet in a long robe, and with a face not like her Grecian Statues, but as the ancient Agyptians made them. They of Constantinople say, that Constantine buried the Statue in the Marketplace bearing his name. But Belifarins thus conquered Italy on this fide the fanian Gulph, to Rome and Samnium. On the other fide Constantianus ( as hath been faid ) got all, to Liburnia.

To speake something how Italy is inhabited; the Adriatique Sea discharges a stream farr into the firm Land, and makes the somian Gulph; Not as in other places, where the Sea running to the Land-ward, in the end makes an Isthmus, or neck of Land. As the Chriscan Gulph ending in the Haven of Lechaum by Corinth, thakes there the Isthmus, being some five miles broad: And the Gulph Melas from the Hellespone makes another of the same breadth in Chersonesus. Whereas from

Ravenna,

Ravenna, where ends the Jonian Gulph, to the Tyrrhene Sea, is eight days journey over land, by reason the current of that Sea is carried out farre to the South-ward. The first Towne on this side the Jonian Gulph is Otranto in Apulia. To the North of that Town is part of Calabria, and Samnium : Next to which is Picenia, reaching to Ravenna. On the other fide of that Town is the rest of Calabria, then Bruttia, and Lucania. Next to which is Campania, to the City of Taracina. To them adjoynes the Territory of Rome. These Nations hold both the shores of the Mediterranean, and all the Mid-lands that way. Here is that which was formerly called Magna Gracia. In Bruttin are seated the Epizephyrian Locrians, Crotonians, and Thurians. On the other side of the Jonian Gulph, first are the Grecians of Epirus, to Epidamnus, which stands upon the Sea. Bordering thereunto is the Province of Precalis: Beyond which it is called Dalmatia, accompted of the western Empire, and all beyond it, as Libernia, Istria, and Venetia, reaching to Ravenna. Above these up into the Land are the Siscians, and the Suevians ( not those subject to the Francks ) and the Carnians, and Novici beyond them. To the right hand of whom are the Dacians and Pannonians, holding Singidon, Sirmium, and other places, & extending to the river Ifter. The Nations on that fide the Jonian gulph, the Goths at the beginning of this war ruled. Beyond Ravenne, to the left hand, and by North of the Poe, are the Ligurians, and beyond them North-ward the Albanians, in an excellent Countrey, called Languvilla. To the West of these Nations are the Ganls, and then the Spaniards. To the South of the Pie is Emilia, and Tuscany, which

reaches to the Territory of Rome.

But Belifarius took all the faid territory of Rome to the Tiber, and fortified it round about; which being in good estate, he directed Constantianus with a band of his owne Targetiers, and with Zanter, Chorsomanus, and Eschmanus, Hunnes, and some of his Life-guard, and other Forces to march into Tuscany, and take in the Towns there. And he gave order to Beff as to take Namia, a strong place in Tufcany. Beffas was of the race of the Goths formerly inhabiting Thrace, but followed not Theodorick into Italy. He was valiant, a skilfull Souldier, and an excellent Captain, and very dextrous in his own person. He got Narnia by the Inhabitants good will; and Constantianus as easily took Spolerum and Perusia, and some other Towns in Tuscan; the Tuscans willingly receiving him. He placed a Garrison in Spolerum, and himselfe with his Forces lodged in Perusia, the cheife Citie in Tuscam. Virigis sent an Army against him under Unilas, and Piezas, whom Constanti-nurencountred in the Suburbs of Perusia. At first, the Barbarians having advan-tage in numbers, the battaile was equal; but at last the Romans by their valour routed them, and killed them almost all; Their Commanders they sent prisoners to Belifarius. Vitigis upon this would stay no more at Ravenna, where he attended Marcias and his Troops. First he fent an Army under Asinarin and Uligifalus, to recover Dalmatia to the Goths; directing them to get Barbarians out of Suavia to joyne with them, and so to march directly to Salone: Which to besiege by Sea also he sent along many Pinnaces. Then himself prepared to go against Belifarius, and Rome, with no leffe then 1 50000. Horse and Foot, the most of them armed, horses and Men. Asinarius raised an Army of Suevians; and Uligifalus led the Goths alone into Liburnia, where he fought with the Romans at a place called Scardon, was beaten, and retired to the City of Burnus, where he staid for Asinarius. Constantianus hearing of Asinarius his preparations, and fearing Salona, drew together the Souldiers garrison'd thereabout, made a Ditch about the City walls, and provided against a siege. Asinarius with a great levy of Barbarians came to Burnus, and joyning with Uligifalus march'd to Salona. They compatt the Walls with their Trenches, and manning their Pinnaces with fouldiers, blockt Salona to the Sea-ward, and so besieged it by Sea and Land: But the Romans set sodainly upon their Pinnaces, scattered them, and funck many with the men aboard, and took many, the men being gone. Yet the Goths raised not their siege, but were rather more eager upon the Romans within,

CHAP.

# CHAP. XIV.

N the meane time Vitigis hearing of the smalnesse of Belisarius his Army, it repented him for retiring from Rome; so not enduring longer where he was, in much anger he marcht thitherward. Upon the way he met a Roman Presit, of whom, they fay, he ask'd earnestly, if Belisarius were yet at Rome; as fearing not to catch him before his running away. He bad him apprehend no fuch thing, undertaking that Belisarius would not fly, but stay upon the place : Which made him hast the more; openly praying to see Rome before Belifarius were run out of it. Who hearing the whole Nation of Goths thus coming upon him, was troubled; For though his Army were very small, he would not leave destitute Constantinus and Beffas, nor abandon the places in Tuscany, least with them the Goths should block up Rome. So upon advice he sent to Constantinus, and Bessas, to leave competent Garrisons in the most important places, and with the rest to come to Rome. Constantinus accordingly placing Garrisons in Spoletum and Perusia, came with the rest to Rome. But Bellas staying to settle Narnia, the Enemy passed that way, and the Feilds and Suburbs were full of them, being Avant-coureurs, whom Beffas charged, and defeated them, and killed many; but prest with their numbers, he retired into Narnia, where he left a Garrison; and coming to Rome, brought newes, that the Enemie would speedily be with them. Narnia stands almost 44. miles from Rome. Vitigis would not spend time upon Perusia, and Spoletum, being strong places. His desire was to find Belisarius in Rome, before he was run away. And Narnia possest by the Enemy, and a place steep and hard of accesse, he would not stir neither: It stands on a high hill, at the foot whereof is the River of Narnus, giving the name to the City; and it hath two ascents on the East and West sides; the one narrow with ragged rocks; to the other is no coming, but over the bridge upon the River, which is an ancient building of Augustus Cafar, admirable to see, and with the highest arches we know. Vitigis, not to spend time, speedily went thence with his whole Army toward Rome, marching through the Sabins Countrey. Being within a mile and three quarters thereof, he came to a bridg upon the Tiber, where Belisarius had built a Tower, and Gates, and placed a Garrison. The Tiber was every where passable by Boats and other Bridges; but this he did, to put the Enemy to more delay (expecting from the Emperour more Forces) and that the Romans might have the more time to bring in provisions; conceiving that the Goths repulsed here, could not passe by any other Bridge in lesse then twenty days; and to get Boats would be a longer worke.

Upon these considerations he placed that Garrison. The Goths lodged neer it, and the next day intended to assault the Tower. Here came to them 22. Fugitives, Barbarians born, but Roman Souldiers of Innocentius Horse-troop. Belisarius thought sit to make a Camp neer the Tiber, the more to hinder the Enemies pas-

fage, and to give some demonstration of their own courage.

The Roman Garrison upon the Bridg frighted with the multitude, and the danger, quitted the Tower at night, and ran away into Campania. They would not goe to Rome, fearing chastisement from the Generall, or ashamed to see their fellowes. The next day the Goths brake down the Gates, and passed over, none opposing. Whereof Belisarius hearing nothing, with 1000. Horse marcht toward the bridg, to view their ground, where they might best incamp; who lighting upon the Enemy newly passed over, were engaged in a fight unwillingly. They were both sides Horse: And Belisarius, though formerly cautious, observed not then the sanck of a Generall, but fought in the head of his Souldiers, which hazarded extreamly the Roman affairs, the whole inclination of the War depending on him. But he was upon a Horse used to the War, and skilfull to save his Rider. He was of a brown bay, and from the fore-head to the nostrils white (Such a Horse the Grecians call pakis, and the Barbarians, Balan.) Most of the Goths shot at Belisarius and his Horse upon this occasion. Those new-come Fugitives seeing Belisarius sighting in the first ranck, & knowing that by his fall the Romans would be ruined, cryed aloud to shoot at the bald fac'd Horse. This word ran through the Goths Army, who in the tumult

being not inquisitive, nor certain it was Belisarius, but guessing the word so generally spred was not for nothing, most left all others, and shot at Belisarius. Such as were ventrous, and ambitious of honour, got neer, reacht at him, and in sury layd on with Lances and swords. And Belisarius layd about him too, killing those within his reach. The affection of his Lanciers and Targetiers stood him in good stead in this danger; who sticking close to him, shewed valour, the like whereof (I think) was never seen, holding their sheilds before the Generall, and receiving all the arrowes, and thrusting off the multitudes with main strength.

# CHAP XV.

T'Hus was the whole fight about one man, wherein fell at least 1,000 Goths, and I fuch as fought in the first rancks. Many of the best of Belifarius his Retinue were slaine, and Maxentius, one of his Lanciers, after he had performed bravely : Himselfe was neither wounded that day nor shot, though the fight was about him alone. In conclusion, the Romans routed the Enemy; multitudes flying, till they recovered their campe: where their foot being fresh, received the Romans, and easily repulsed them. Who seeing another supply of Horse coming, sled up to a Hill, where they made a stand; and encounter d the Barbarian horse overtaking them. Where Valentinus, Gentleman of the horse to Photins, Antonina's sonne, shewed extraordinary valour, gallopping into the thickest of the enemy, and stopping their course, and bringing off his company; and thus they escaped to the Walls of Rome, with the Barbarians at their heels up to the gate, now called Belifaria. mans within, fearing the Enemy might enter pell mell, would not open the gate, notwithstanding Belifarius's earnest commands, loud cries, and threats, who could not be discerned from the Turret (it being after Sun set) having his face covered with bloud and dust, and they did not think the Generall to be alive; those that ran away at the first defeat having reported him to be slain, fighting bravely in the head of his troopes. The Enemy therefore coming with multitudes, and much Fury thought to get over the ditch, and charged the retirers, who near the Walls flood thick and close body to body in a small roome. And they within being no Souldiers, nor prepared at all, and afraide of their city, could not succour them; when a sudden bold resolution of Belisarius saved all, who encouraging his company, charged the Enemy: and they being disordered, as in the dark, and upon a chase, and seeing those that fled unexpectedly coming on, suspected succours to be come from the city, and in a fear run all away. Belisarius pursued them not, but turned about to the walls; whom the Romans, taking heart, received in, and his company. In so great perill was Belifarius, and the Emperours affaires. The fight beginning in the morning ended at night; wherein Belifarins did best of the Romans, and of the Goths Visandus the standard bearer, who with the rest charged Belisarius; and went not off, before hee fel to the ground after 13 wounds received, and neglected by his com-Panions (though they had the victory) he was left among the dead. Three dayes after, the Goths being encamped neer Rome, fent out to bury the dead men, and to performe their funerall rites: thefe fearching the bodies, found Visandus with breath in him, but he could not speak; his inward parts with famin and drouth being extreamly inflamed, they put water in his mouth, and so having drunk and got life, they carried him to the campe; and for this he was in great reputation with the Goths, and he lived long after. Belifarius being in fafety, affembled his fouldiers to the walls, and most of the common people; commanding them to light fires, and to watch all night. He went the round himself, set all in order, and appointed commanders to every gate. Beffas, who guarded Porta Pranestina, fent him word, that the town was entred by the Enemy at a gate bearing the name from Saint Pancra-The company advised Belisarius to escape out at some other gate; but hee milliked the motion, fent horsemen down to the Tiber, who upon the view brought word, that there was no Enemy thereabout appearing. Wherefore he sent direction to the Commanders of every gate, if they heard that the Enemie was entred at any other part, not to fuccour, but to continue upon their guards; least they should be

disordered with false alarms; Himself would take care of those things. Virigis (the Romans being in this tumult) sent a Commander named Vacis, to Porta Salaria, who revised there the Romans for their disloyalty to the Goths, and thus betraying their countrey, and indeed themselves, having exchanged the Goths power, for Greeks, unable to defend them; none of which nation were formerly seen in Italy, but stage-players, and some pissing mariners. But seeing none would answer him, he went back to Vitigis. The Romans also slouted Belijarius, who had so hardly escaped, yet bade them despise these Barbarians; for he knew he should absolutely beat them. By what he knew this, shal be sayd anon; but now it being grown late, and he being yet fasting, his wife and freinds had much ado to perswade him to eat something.

# CHAP, XVI.

He next day the Goths thinking with case to enter Rome, by reason of the great. nesse of it; and the Romans defending it, were thus quartered. The city hath fourteen gates, and some posterns; but the Goths, unable to encompasse the whole circuit thereof, made fixe intrenchments, and infested the space of five Gates, from Porta Flaminia to Porta Pranestina. These were on this side the Tiber; But searing least the enemy should take down Pons Milvins, and so exclude them from all from the river to the sea, and thereby might not feel the inconveniences of the Seige; they made a seventh Intrenchment on the other side of Tiber, in Nero's sciles; that they might have the fayd bridge in the midst between their Camps. And so they infelted two gates more; Porta Aurelia (now named of Peter, the cheife of Christs Apostles, lying buried neer unto it ) and the Gate beyond the Tiber. they incompassed half the city; and being not cut off by the River, made the warre in what part of it they pleased. The Romans have built their walls on both sides the River, thus. The Tiher grown great, runnes a good space by the walls on this fide of it, which stand by the Rivers side, upon Ground flat, and very assaultable. Opposite to them beyond the Tiber, is a \* great hill, where stand the City mills; the water being brought by an Aquadust to the hill top, and from thence descending with much swiftnesse: which caused the ancient Romans to compasse this hill, and the Rivers banck neer it with a wall; that an Enemy might not demolish the mills, nor passe the River to assail the town walls; which with a bridge they joyned to this part; and building houses upon this ground beyond the Tiber, took the River into the midst of the City. The Goths also made deep ditches about their intrenchments; and casting the Earth inward, and therewith making the intrenchment very high, and pitching the top with multitude of stakes, they made their camps not inferiour to so many Castles. The Entrenchment in Nero's feilds Marcias commanded, being come out of Gaule with his troops, and there quartered. The other were commanded by Vitigis, and five other; a Commander to every intrenchment. They cut also allthe Aquaducts, to cut off the cities water that way: they are fourteen in all, ancient works of brick; and so deep and broad, that a man on Horse back may ride in them. But Belisarius to guard the City used this order; himself had Porta Pinciana, and Porta Salaria standing to the right hand of it, because the wall there is very affaultable; and being opposite to the Enemy, the Romans were to fally there. He gave Porta Pranestina to Bessas, and to Constantianus Porta Flaminia (which stands to the left hand of Pinciana ) and rammed up the gate with stones within, that it might not be opened; fearing the Enemies deligns there, being close to one of their Entrenchments. The other gates he directed the commanders of the foot to guard. The Aquadults he fortified a good space, to avoyd mischeise that way from without. But the Aquaducts being cut, they wanted water for their mills, and with beafts they could not worke, their scarce provisions of fodder (as in a siege) not sufficing for their horses of service. Belifarius to help this, tied cables before the bridge, that Joyned to the City wall, from one banck of the river to the other, ftretching them stiff, and fastning boats to them two foot asunder, where the stream from the arches

It was called Porta Triumphalis, & Vaticana, and was next to Pons Triumphalis, Leand, indescrip. Italia. Mons Janiculus it was called.

of the bridge ranne strongest; and putting into each boat a mill-stone, he hung the Engine between the boats which turns the Mill. Beneath these he tied other boats together in the same manner in a distance proportionable, sitting them with like Engines; and the stream being strong, and turning the Engins, set the Mill stones on worke, and grinded sufficient for the City. The Enemies informed hereof by sugitives, endeavored to spoil the Engins by throwing into the River great trees and bodies of Romans slain, and these being driven down with the stream, brake the Engins at sirst; but Belisarius had this remedy. He hung before the bridge iron chains a-cross the River, which stopt all that came down the stream; which men appointed drew up to the land; and this he did not only for the mills, but to prevent the Enemies entrance with boats through the bridge into the midst of the City. The Barbarians sailing in their attempt gave it over, and the Romans made use of those mills, but for want of water were shut from their Baths; they had sufficient to drinke, those who dwelt far from the River having the commodity of wells. Their common sewers they needed not secure, having all their mouthes into the River; and so impossible to be entred by the Enemy.

In the mean time among the Samnites, their boyes who kept their sheep, chusing two of the lustiest, and calling one Belisarius and the other Vitigis, caused them to wrestle. It was Vitigis chance to be thrown; whom the boyes in sport hung on a tree, and suddenly a wolfe appearing, they all ran away, and poor Vitigis after a long time hanging in great pain dyed. The Samnite upon this accident punisht not the boyes, but divining at the event, believed that Belisarius would get the Victo-

ry.

#### CHAP. XVII.

UT the people of Rome not used to the miseries of warr, and a siege; and now wanting their baths, and pincht with scarcity, being put also to guard the walls, and want their sleepes; supposing too, that ere long their City would be taken, and feeing already their country farmes spoiled by the Enemy; they murmured greivously to be besieged and run this hazard, having done no offence. So affembling themselves, they railed at Belisarius for presuming to make war with the Goths, having no competent forces from the Emperour, and the Senators privatly objected the same unto him. Vitigis understanding this from fugitives, to exasperate them yet more, and so to put the Romans affaires into confufion . he fent Ambassadors to Belisarius; among whom was one Albes, who having accesse to him in the presence of the Senate, and Commanders of the army, spake "thus. Anciently, O Generall! men fitly defining names for things, have diffinguisht presumption from valour; the one drives men into danger with dishonour, the other with virtue brings abundantly glory. One of these hath brought you "hither, and which of them you may quickly manifest. It in the confidence of your valour you have entred into this warr; you see from your walls your Enemies; "and brave S'- you have meanes to be valiant enough. If through prefumption "you have invaded us, you will certainly repent what you have rashly done, as "over-weening men ever use when they come to the tryall: Adde not therefore "more misery to these Romans, whom Theodorick hath bred in freedom and delights; "and oppose not your self against the Lord of the Goths and Italians. How absurd "is it for you, thut up thus, and affraid of your Enemies, to lodge in Rome, while "her King lives in a trench, acting the mischeifes of a war upon his own Subjects? "Yet will wee grant to you and your troopes a free retreat, and leave to carry away your goods; holding it not religious nor manly to infult upon men, who have "learnt to be sober again. But we would willingly aske these Romans wherewith "they can charge the Goths, that they thus have betrayed both us and themselves; "having hitherto enjoyed our moderation, and now finding what your aides are. Belifaring to this speech made this answer. Our season for fighting shall not be at your disposing; men use not to make war by the advise of their Enemies, whose "Law is for every man to order his owne businesse to his owne liking: The time

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"will come when you would hide your heads in bushes, and shall not be able. We "having taken Rome, possesse nothing that is anothers. You usurped it formerly being not yours, and now have restored it to the ancient owners. And who ever " of you hopes to enter Rome without fighting, he is miltaken. It is impossible Be-" lifarins should live, and so much degenerate. Thus spake Belifarins. But the Romans for fear fate mute, not daring to contradict the Ambassadors, though reproached thus with treason. Onely Fidelins was bold to reprove them, being Prafect of the pallace made by Belifarius, and most affected to the Emperours Service. The Ambaffadors were reconducted to the campe; whom Vitigis askt what manner of man Belifarius was, and how refolving, touching his retreat. They answered, that the Goths hoped an impossibility, if they thought to fright Belifarius : whereup. on Vitigis resolved to affault the City; for which he was thus prepared. He made Towers of wood equall with the walls; having the just measure of them by often numbring the stones: at the Bases and corners of the towers were wheeles, which with ease were moved and turned about as the affailants pleased, and drawn by ox-He fitted also many Ladders, and made four Rammes; which Engin is made first fetting up four woodden pillars equall and opposite to each other; into which are morteffed eight croffe beams, four above and four into the Bases, making the form of a little house four square. This instead of roose and walls was covered with Skins, that it might be light to draw, and they within secure from shot. Within about the Engin aloft, hangs another croffe beam with loofe chains, the top whereof is made tharpe, and over it a great quantity of iron layd as on the head end of an arrow, where the faid iron is made four square like an anvill. The Engin is raised upon four wheeles, fastned to the four pillars; and within fifty men at least move it, who having fet it to the walls, draw the faid loofe beam backward with a pully, then let it go with violence at the walls; and by often shooting it thus, it shakes and makes a breach where it hits: hence the Engin hath the name; the point of the faid beam putting forth, and pushing like a ram. The Goths also had quantity of fagots of wood and reed ready, to make the ground and the City ditch even for their Engins to passe without rubb. Belisarius upon the other side placed upon the Towers engins called Bulifia. These have the form of a bow, with a hollow horne flicking out beneath and hanging loose, but lying upon a strait peice of Iron: when they are to shoote, they bend the two peices of wood, making the two ends of the bow, with cord; and put the arrow upon the hollow horne, being halfe to long as common arrowes, and four times as thick. It mounts not with feathers , but inflead thereof bath thinn peices of wood mortefs'd in, and it is in shape wholly like common arrowes, having a head of mon proportionable to its thicknesse; men at both ends bend the bow with pullyes; and the hollow horne going forward, at last falls off, and out flies the arrow with such force, that it reaches twice as far as an arrow from a bow, and lighting upon tree of frone, cleaves it afunder. It is called Baliffe, because dans the thoores very far. Other Engins were fet upon the battlements proper for flinging stones, and are like slings, and are called wild Asses. At the Gates they fet up wolves, made thus. They fet two beams from the ground reaching to the battlements; and laying Chequer wife peices of Timber wrought, some upright and some a crosse, they joynt them so, that the mortesling holes meete one another: And before each joynt ficks out a pointed peice of wood like a thick fourt, and faltning the croffe timbers to another beam, which from the top reaches half way down, they lay the beams flat-long upon the Gates, & an Enemy approaching, men above lay hold of the higher ends of the beams and thrust chemidown, which falling suddenly among the Affailants with these wooden points sticking out, kill all they light on. Belifarms having these preparations, the Goths conducted by Visign himself the lighteenth day of the siege about sun rising, marcht to the affault. The Towers and Rams in the head of them aftonishe the Roman mot wied to such highes. But Belifaring feeing the Enemies order with their Engins tell into a langling, and bade the Souldiers fland and begin no fight, till he gave the Signall. He imparted not the reason of his laughing, but afterward it was known. The Romans thinking he jeer d them raited at him, and called him an impudent man, and extreamly mus-mured, that he did that Rob the Enemy coming necessarials. Who being approach the town dirch, the Generall bent his bow and thot an armed man, leading the rek

These molves were something like Portculifses. into the neck; and the wound being mortall, the man fell downe with his face upward. All the people of Rome upon the Battlements taking it for an excellent prefage, made a huge shout. Belisarius shot again, with the like fortune, and againe there was a greater shout from the walls, that the Romans within thought the Enemy had been vanquisht. Then Belisarius gave the signall to the whole Army to shoot, and commanded those about himselfe, to employ all their Arrows against the Oxen; which soone fell all, and so the Enemy could neither bring on their Towers, nor invent any remedy, being puzzel'd in the midst of their business. Then was known Belisarius providence, not to stop them afar off; and that he laughed at their sottishnesse, in hoping to bring their Oxen to their Enemies walls so unadvisedly. These things were about Porta Belisaria.

# CHAP. XVIII,

UT Vitigis being there repulsed, left a good part of the Army, ordered in a deep Batallion; and directing the Commanders, not to affaile the walls, but to stand in their orders, and ply the Battlements with shot, to divert Belifarins from succouring another part ( which with greater Forces hee meant to assault ) he marched toward Porta Pranestina, to that part which is called Vivarium (or the Park) where the Walls are most assaultable, having other Engines of Rammes, Towers, and scaling Ladders. The Goths also made another affault against Porta Aurelia; without which stands Adrians Tomb, a stones cast from the wals, worth the fight. It is made of Parian stone close joyned, without any other matter within. It hath four equall squares, each being neer a stones cast broad, and is higher then the City walls. On the top are Statues of the same stone of men and horses, of admirable worke. This tombe the Citizens have anciently joyned to the walls by two Flanckers from the fame; that it shews as a turret defending the gate there. The Fortification being very sufficient, Belisarius gave the command of it to Constantianus, directing him to take care of the wall adjoyning, which had but a small guard. For the wall being there strong (the river running under it, he look't not for an affault that way, and so put no important guard at it; distributing his maine Forces ( which were but few ) to the most necessary places. For the Emperours Army at the beginning of this fiege amounted but to five thousand men in

Constantianus perceiving the Enemy to attempt a passage over the Tiber, and fearing the Flancker there, himselfe went to the succour with a few, directing the relt to guard the Gate and Adrians tomb. Where the Goths gave on, holding before them their leather Bucklers like Persian Targets, and having no engines of Batteries, but store of scaling Ladders and Archery, thinking quickly to perplex the Enemy, and master the Garrison being sew. Their opposites saw them not, till they came very neer, being covered by the Portions, which reaches to Saint Peters Church. Then suddenly the Goths shewing themselves, began; and the Romans were not able to use their Balistas (which can shoot but right forward) nor with their Archery to annoy them, the shot doing no good by reason of those Bucklers. The Goths prest hard, and shot thick at the Battlements, and were ready to set their Ladders to the Flanckers, having almost encompassed the tomb, and when the Romans came on, still wheeling about at their backs. The Romans were troubled, feeing no hope of holding out, till they agreed to take down the Statues being great, and the stones huge, which they threw down upon the Enemies heads. Who being hurt, gave ground by little and little, and the Romans grew bold, and repelled them with their Bowes and stones; and falling to their Engines, put them into feare, to that their affault was not long. And Constantianus appearing, frighted those who attempted to passe the River, not finding the Flancker there without guard, as they imagined.

Thus the Aurelian gate was in fafety, and all about it. The Enemy also attempted Porta Pancratiana upon the River, but did no good upon the place, being strong,

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and the walls not easily affaultable there, standing on steep ground. Paulus with his Foot company guarded there. Neither attempted they Porta Flaminia, scituate upon craggy ground, not easie of accesse, and guarded by a Foot-company of Rhegians, commanded by Orsicinus. Between this gate and Porta Pinciana, next it on the right hand, part of the wall had been long broken halfe way down from the top. It fell not, but panch't on both fides, part appearing inward, and part outward: whence the Romans call it the broken wall. Belifarius at his first coming, going about to repair it, the Romans hindered him, alleadging that the Apostle Peter had promised to guard the place, whom above all they reverence. And it succeeded according to their expectation: For neither that day, nor during all the fiege of Rome the Enemy ever approacht it, nor was the least trouble about it. And we wondered in all the time, that the place never came into the Enemies thoughts, having made fo many affaults, and attempts by night. No man fince hath been fo bold as to repaire it, but still the wall remains broken. At Porta Salaria in the meane time, a tall goodly man, valiant, and of good quality among the Goths, being armed with Corflet and Morion, left his ranke; and standing on a tree, threw a rope up to the Battlements, whom an arrow from a Balista piercing through his body halfe way into the tree, nailed him dead to the same. This frighted the Goths from coming within arrow-fhot, and kept them in their ranks, from infeffing any more those upon the walls.

# CHAP. XIX.

N the meane time Beffas and Peranius ( whom Vitigis hotly charged in the Vivarium ) fent for Belifarius. And he speedily came to their reliefe, fearing the weaknesse of the wall in that part; and leaving at Porta Salaria one of his retinew, He encouraged the Souldiers in the Park, frighted with the affault, and the Enemies multitude. Anciently the Romans finding the ground flat, and fit for invasion, and the bricks of the wall there grown loose, scarce sticking together, compassed the same with a Flancker, not so much for safety ( for it had no Battlements, nor other Fortification upon it, to refift an Enemy ) but for pleafure, to keep in it Lions, and other wild Beafts, whereupon it was named Vivarium, the Park. Vitigis made ready his Engines against the wall there, and commanded the Goths to get through the Flancker into the Park, and then he knew he should be eatily mafter of the Town-walls, being weake. Belifarius feeing the Enemy digging through into the Park, and in many parts affaulting the walls, suffered not his men to defend, nor stay upon the Battlements, but held them, with their swords and Armour ready neer unto the Gate there. The Goths having now cut through the wall, and entred the Park, he fent out Cyprianus with his company to begin the fight; who killed them all, falling downe for feare, and spoiled by one another, running out at their narrow breach: the whole Enemy being amazed with the suddennesse, and out of their orders, and some carried one way, some another. Belisarius instantly opened the Gate, and fallied with the whole Army; And the Goths having no mind to fight, ranne away every man; whom the Romans followed, and killed them with eafe, and had a long execution; the Goths having affaulted there far from their Entrenchments. Belisarius commanded to burn the Enemies Engines, which with the flame (being high ) more aftonished them. At Porta Salaria also they sallied at the same time unexpectedly, killed the Enemy running a-way without resistance, and burnt their Engines. The same rose above the walls, which put them all to a generall retreat : the Romans from the walls shouting to encourage the pursuers, and the others from the Entrenchments wailing the difaster. Thirty thousand Goths were flain that day (as their Commanders affirmed) and more wounded. For from the Battlements shooting at multitudes, they selected dome mift; and they who fallied, flew heaps of amazed flying men, and the bufineffe lafted from morning to evening. At night they retreated; the Romans tinging their Peans upon the walls, extolling Belifarius with acclamations, and some stripping the dead bodies; and the Goths curing their wounded, and mourning for their dead. Belifarius also wrote to the Emperour this letter.

"We are come into Italy, according to your commands, and have gained a great part of the Country, and taken Rome, expelling the Goths, whose Commander Lenderis we fend. But in the strong places of Sicily and Italy ( which we took by siege ) we have lest the greatest part of our Armie; that it is now reduced to 5000 men, the Enemie affailing us with 150000. First, going out to discover the Enemy neer the Tiber, we were put to fight beyond our determination, and were almost overwhelmed with the multitude of their Lances. Afterward they made a generall affault with men and Engines on all fides, and failed little of taking Rome at the first affault, if fortune had not rescued us. Hitherto what hath been done by fortune, or valour, hath succeeded well: But now I must entreat, what may conduce to your future service. I will never conceale what it behoves me to say, "and you to do. I know affaires goe as God guides them, but the Governours of "them get blame or commendation by the actions they perform. So that Armes "must be sent us, and such numbers of Men, as that we may encounter the Ene-"my with aquivalent powers. We must not ever trust to fortune, which runs not "always one way. And confider, O Emperour! That if the Goths now beat us, we " shall loose Italy ( now yours ) and our Army too; besides the disgrace for our ill " carriage of the businesse. And we shall also undoe the Romans, who have pre-" ferred their faith to your Empire before their fafety; and fo will our prosperity prove the occasion of our calamity. For if we had been repulsed from Italy, or "before from Sicily, the lightest of misfortunes would have troubled us only; not "to be rich with other mens goods. You are to confider also, that Rome was "never before kept fo long, with many thousands; it compasses so much ground: and being not upon the Sea, it is excluded from necessaries. The Romans yet are "well affected to us, but the prolongation of their miferies will make them choose "the best for themselves. New freinds to any men, keep faith, not when they fuf-"fer, but when they prosper by them. Besides, the Romans will by samine be forced to do things they would not. I know I owe my death to your Majesty, fo that "none shall ever pull me out of this place alive; But think, what glory such a death " of Belisarius will bring you.

The Emperour upon this letter gathered an Army and Ships, and fent direction to Valerianus, and Martinus, who were dispatch d with an Army about the Winter Solstice, to saile for Italy with all speed; but not able to keep the Sea further, went on Land, and wintred in Ætolia, and Avarnania. The Emperour advertised Beli-

farius thereof, which much comforted him and the Romans.

In the mean time in Naples this happened. The Image of Theodorick, King of the Goths stood in the Market-place, made of small peeble stones, dyed into all colours. In his life time the stones of the head of this Image peeled and shed off, and presently after he dyed : Eight years after, the peebles forming the Images belly dropt off, and instantly Atalarick dyed, Theodoricks daughters fon : foon after fell off the pebles upon the privities, and then his daughter Amalafuntha was murthered. And now the Goths besieging Rome, the limbs down to the Images feet were in the same manner spoiled, and the whole out-fide defaced; and the Romans divining upon it, were confident of the Emperours prevailing in this Warr; taking Theodoricks feete for his Subjects, the people of the Goths. In Rome also some Patricians produced Oracles of Sibylla, that the Cities danger would last but till July; when the Romans should have a King, through whom they should no more feare Gericke Nations: And the Goths, they say, are a Nation of Getes. In the Oracle it is the fifth moneth, which they interpreted July; some, because the siege began in the beginning of March, from which July is the fifth; others, because before Numa Match was the first moneth, there being but ten in all, whence July was called Quinrilis. But this was miltaken all. For the Romans had no fuch King, and the fiege was raffed after that time, and another fiege was under Totilas King of the Goths, as shall be faid hereafter. I conceive the Prophesie to intend not this, but some other invasion of Barbarians, happened already, or to come: And to find the meaning of Sibylla's Oracles before the event, is not possible, for a cause I shall tell you, having read them all over. Sibylla utters not things in order, nor with any congruity. Having

Belifarius defended Rome with 5000 against 150000. Goths. said a few words of the calamities of Africa, instantly she leaps into Persia; Then talks of the Romans, then comes to the Asyrians. Then having prophesied again of the Romans, she fore-tels the miseries of the Brittons; that it is not possible to understand her, before the event of her Oracles; when time, having made the tryall, proves the only exact Interpreter thereof. But to return to my matter.

# CHAP, XX.

HE Goths were thus repulsed, and both parts past that night as I have sayd. The next day Belisarius commanded the Romans to send away their Wives and Children to Naples, and such servants as were not usefull for desence of the City, to fave victuals; and he willed the Souldiers to fend away their women fervants, telling them he should not be able to feed such, but must be constrained to put themselves to half victuals every day, & to take the remainder of their They did fo, and multitudes went into Campania, some entertainments in money. getting shipping at the Port of Rome, and the rest going by Via Appia by Land. And neither that way, nor to the Port feared they danger; the Enemie being not able to encompasse Rome with their Entrenchments, nor daring in small parties to be far from their Camp, for feare of the Romans excursions: That the besieged had meanes enough for a time to remove out of the Citie, and to bring in provisions, especially by night. For the Goths were affraid, and attending their Guards, kept in; and the Moores often fallyed, and finding them either afleep, or in small companies upon the wayes to pasture their Cattell, or to get necessaries for themselves (as is usuall in great Armies) they killed and tript them; and if they saw numbers of Enemies charging them, they ran home, being naturally swift of foot, lightly apparelled, and beginning to fly in time. Thus the uselesse multititude got away out of Rome, some into Campania, some into Sicily, or whether they could with most ease.

But the Souldiers being few, and not sufficient for so great a circuit of wall, and some being to take their rest, while others guarded; and the common people being poor handi-crasts men, having nothing but from one day to another, and there being no means to releive them; Belisarius mingled them with the Souldiers upon the Guards, and appointed them them a daily pay, raising Companies of them, competent to guard the Citie; and to every company allotting their nights, so that all in their turnes stood Sentinells. And by this meanes the Souldiers were releived,

and they fed.

Having some suspition that Liberius Bishop of Rome practised to betray the Citie to the Goths, he sent him into Greece, and made Vigilius Bishop soone after. Upon the same ground he banished some Senators, whom he recalled after the siege was raised, and the Goths retired. One of these was Maximus, whose Grand-sather Maximus ruined the Emperour Valentinian. Fearing designs upon the Gates, and lest some might be corrupted with money, he brake the old keyes twice a moneth, and made new of the same form. And he stil changed the Sentinels to other Guards far off; and every night appointed new Commanders of those Guards, who were directed every night by turns to goe rounds, with notes in writing of the Sentinels names, and where any was missing, to place new in his roome, and the next day to produce the defaulters for due punishment to be insticted. And he commanded Musitians to play all night on their Instruments upon the walls. He sent out Moores also with dogs to lye all night about the ditch, to discover such as came towards the walls though afar off.

Some Romans then attempted secretly to force open the gates of Janus. This was the chiefe of those ancient gods, whom the Romans called Penates. His Temple is in the Forum, before the Senate house, a little beyond the Temple of the three Fates. It is all of Brasse, four-square, high enough only to cover the Image, which is of brasse also, five cubits high, resembling a man, only it hath two faces, one standing to the East, and the other to the West, and against each face are brazen gates,

which

which the Romans anciently kept shut in Peace and Prosperity, and in time of War set them open. But since the Romans have imbraced Christian Religion, as much as any men whatsoever, they opened these Gates no more, though they were in Wars. But in this Seige, some having the old Religion (I think) in their mindes, endeavoured secretly to open them, but could not who lly, but onely so much, as they stood not close together as before. The Actors were not knowne, nor inquired after in that trouble some time; none of the Magistrates, and sew of the People having notice of it. Vitigis in the meane time being in Rage, and troubled, sent some of his Lanciers to Ravenna to kill the Roman Senators, whom in the beginning of the War he had brought thither. Some having notice of it, sled; of whom were Gerbentians, and Reparatus, Brother to Vigilius Bishop of Rome; who both got into Ligaria, and there staid; the rest all perished.

# CHAP. XXI.

Itigis also seeing the Enemies free scope of exporting from the City what they pleafed, and of importing Provisions by Sea and Land; refolved to take in Portus, the Romans Haven, standing almost 13. miles from the City, ( fo far is Rome distant from the Sea : ) and being at the mouth of the Tiber, which coming from Rome, and being almost within two miles of the Sea, parts in two, and makes the Holy Island. This Island growes still broader downe the River; and for about two miles together is as broad as long, and on both fides of it the Tiber is navigable in two feverall Streames. The right-hand Stream runs into the Haven; where without the Rivers mouth upon the Strand is an ancient City called Portes, incompassed with a strong Wall on the left hand. At the other Streames mouth beyond the shore of the Tiber stands Oftia, anciently a famous City, but now without Walls. The way from Portus to the City the Romans have made paffable; and still Lighters are in readinesse in the Haven, and many Oxen for Merchants to draw up their Goods to Reme aboard those Lighters not using Sailes, no wind being able to stemme them up the Stream, by reason of the many eddies in the River: And Oares can do no good, the Stream against them is so strong; so that they tye the Lighters with long Ropes to the Oxen, and draw them up to Rome the Waggons. The way to Rome on the other fide the Tiber is woody and neglected, and not neere the shore; the Lighters being never drawn that way. The Goths finding the faid Towne of Portus ungaurded, took it at the first on-fet, and killed many Romans dwelling in it, and fo held the Haven too; leaving a Garrison of a 1900. men, and the rest retiring to their Campe. So that nothing could come to Rome from the Sea, but by Oftia with much toile and danger; the Romans Ships coming no more in at Portus, but lying at Antium, a daies journey from Oftia, and from thence bringing their Commodities. Scarcety of men caused this: For Betijuxius fearing Rome it selfe, could put none into Portus; if there had been but 300. men in it, the Goths had never attempted it, being a strong Place, and this they did the third day after their being beaten from the Affault. Twenty daies after the taking of Poreus, and the Haven, came Martinus and Valirious with 1600. Horse-mon, most Hunnes, Slavanians, and Antians, seated beyond the River fole mot far from it. Belisaring glad of their company, refolved now to make the War apon the Enemy, and the next day commanded Trainnes, one of his Life-guard, a wallant man, to march with 200. of his Targetiers on Horseback against the Barbarians, and neere their Entrenchments to get up to a Hill which he shewed them, and there to stand; if the Enemy came against them, not to come to the Sword, or dance with them, but onely to use their Bowes; and having empted their Quivers, to make no scruple to retire, running away to the Towne Walls. Having thus disected, he prepared the shooting Engines, and their Engineers. Trainers at Porta Sulmin fallied out upon the Enemies Campe; who amazed with the suddainesse, encountried, as every man chanced to the in reading fe. Training got up to the Hill, kept off the Goths with his thot, which falling among a multitude, still hit Man, or Horse; and their Arrowes being spent, they gallopt home with the Goths at

their heeles : who being neere the Walls, the Engineers fell to work with their Engines, and then the Goths gave over the Chase. In this Action were kill'd a 1000. Goths. Some few daies after Belisarius fent out Mundilas, one of his Guard, his Favourite, and Diogenes, extraordinary good Souldiers, with 300. of his Targettiers, to do the like, and they did so; and killed rather more of the Enemy, then fell before, and in the same manner. The third time he sent out Oilas, one of his Life-guard, who performed upon the Enemy the same things; So that with these three Sallies he killed about 4000. Enemies. Vitigis (who conceaved not the difference between training men to their Armes in Camps, and an experimentall perfectnesse in the Actions of War ) though by charging also with small Forces to indamage the Enemy. And so he sent 500. Horse to approach the Walls, and what they had suffered from a few, to act upon the Enemies whole Army. These got to a rifing ground neere the City, onely out of Arrow shot, and there stood. Belisarius commanded Bessas with a 1000. selected men to charge them: These made a compasse, and shooting the Enemies backs, killed many, and forced the rest to come downe to the plaine ground, where the Fight being with Sword and Lance, and with unequall powers, the Goths were most cut in peices, and the rest retired with difficulty to their Campe; whom Vitigis reviled, as beaten through want of Valour. Three daies after he sent out 500. selected out of all the Quarters, and bad them do as became their Valour and Reputation . Belisarius seeing them approach, sent against them Martinus and Valerianns with their 1500. Horse, who exceeding the Enemy so much in numbers, with ease routed them, and killed almost every man. The Enemy thought it strang ill Fortune, to be beaten before, being many, by a few, and now being few, to be cut in peices.

# CHAP. XXII.

UT the Romans extolled Belisarius for his Wisdome; admiring him, as they had reason. One of his Favourites askt him, what Argument he saw that day wherein he escaped the Enemy, to be so full of the hope of Victory. He anfwered, that beginning to fight with them with a few in his Company, he found the difference of either Army, such as if he make his Fights proportionable to his Powers, the Enemies multitude shall not ruine his small numbers. The difference was, that the Romans almost all, and the auxiliary Hunnes were Archers on Horseback; a matter not practifed by the Goths, whose Horse-men have only Lances and Swords, and all their Archers fight on foot, covered with their armed men; fo that the Horse-men, unlesse the Fight be at handy blowes, having nothing to resist with, are easily shot and ruined by the Enemy, using Bowes; and their Foot cannot make excursions against Horse. These he alleadged to be the reasons of their being beaten in the former Encounters. But the Goths finding how frangly things fell out, would no more ride up to the Walls in small Parties, nor pursue the Enemy infelting, but so much only as to drive them from their Trenches. The Romans exalted with these Prosperities, longed to come to a generall Battell, and would have the War made in an open brave way: but Belifarius seeing the great odds against him, was fearfull to hazard his whole Army; at last wearied with the railings of the Army, and Roman Citizens, he resolved to give Battell; but to begin with Excursions. Often he was repulsed attempting, and forced to put it off till the next day: But at last finding the Enemy advertised by Fugitives what would be, and beyond his Expectation in readinesse, he determined to fight in the open way, which the Goths gladly entertained; And both Parties being Imbattelled, "Belifarius made this Speech to his Army. Fellow Souldiers, I have been backward "to come to a Battell with the Enemy not condemning you of faintnesse, nor fearing their Powers; but because in this way of Excursions we have prospered, and I thought it best to ply the cause of our prospering; holding it inconvenient, "for men feeled in a course to their mind, to be altered by others. But seeing now your forwardnesse to hazard, I hope well, and will be no further a stop to your Courage; knowing that in War, the Resolutions of those that fight, contribute

"the greatest part of the Successe, and that most things are acted by their Alacrity. "And your felves know, not by heare-fay, but by your daily experience, that few, "well ordered with Valour, can conquer multitudes. It is now in your power not to "blemish the glory of my former Stratagems, nor my hope in this your Ala-"crity. All we have acted in this War, must be judged by the Successe of this day. "The present opportunity is for us, and in likely-hood will subdue the Enemy to "us, their Courage being dejected by what is past; and the Resolutions of men often unfortunate, seldome performing valiantly. Let none therefore spare his "Horse, or Bow; what is spoiled in Fight, shall instantly be supplied by me. Belisarius having thus faid, led out the Army at Porta Pinciana, and Salaria. Valentinus a Captain of Horse, he sent out at Porta Aurelia to Nero's Feilds, with not many; whom he directed not to begin any Fight, nor to approach the Enemies Campe, but still to make countenance of charging, thereby to keep the Enemy there from passing † the Bridge, to succour the other Quarters. For he held it enough to cut off thole in Nero's Feilds ( being many ) from fuccouring the rest of the Enemy. The Commons of Rome being Voluntaries, he would not mingle with the Souldiers in the Battell, fearing, least being handicrafts men, unexperienced in War, they might upon apprehension of the danger disorder the Army. So he commanded them to stand in a Battallion without Porta Pancratiana beyond the Tiber, till he gave the Signall; imagining that which fell out, that the Enemy in Nero's Feilds (who were in great numbers) feeing them, and Valentinus Troopes, would not venter out of their quarter to joyne with the rest of the Gothish Army; and to keep them divided, he took to be a matter of great Importance. He refolved also that day to fight with Horse onely; for most of the Foot having stolne Horse from the Enemy, and being skilfull Riders, were turned Horse-men. And so his Foot being few, not able to make a Batallion of any Importance, nor daring to fight, but in case to run away at the first charge, he thought it safest to place them not far from the City, and caused them to stand still close to the City Ditch, to receive the Horse if they were beaten back, and being fresh, to help to resist the Enemy. But Principius one of his Guard, a Pisidian, and an approved Souldier, and Tarmatus an Isaurian, Brother to Ennes, Collonell of the Isaurians, came to Belisarius, "and faid this. Excellent Generall, fuffer not your fmall Army encountring fo "many thousands, to want your Battallion of Foot, nor put not a disgrace up-"on the Roman Infantry, by which the Empire of the ancient Romans arrived to "fo much greatnesse. If in this War they have done little Service, it is no Argu-"ment of their Cowardise, but their Commanders are to beare the blame, "for ferving on Horse-back, and not esteeming the Fortune of the War common "to all, nay often running away before the Fight. Now you fee our Foot Com-"manders all Horse-men, not contented to serve with those under their Conduct ; "And keep them, Sr. with the other Horse in this Battel, but suffer us to lead on the "Foot; and we alighting on foot, will with them stand this multitude of Barba-"rians, hoping to do fomething, as God shall give us Grace. Belifarius at first would not grant this Motion, loving the men whom he knew valiant, and unwilling to put the Foot (being few) to the hazard; at last importuned with their forwardnesse, he placed some few Foot at the Gates, and upon the Battlements with the common People, and about the Engines; the rest he commanded to stand in order behind him, under Principius, and Tarmutus, that they might not by apprehending danger, put the rest of the Army in confusion; and if any Horse were routed, they might not run far, but flying to the Foot, with them refift the Purfuers.

Pons Milvius, which stood something distant from the City.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

ITIGIS also put the Goths in armes, not leaving any in the Trenches but unserviceable men. The troopes under Marcias hee commanded to ftand ftill in Nero's feilds attending the Guard of the bridge, that the Enemy might not come that way; and affembling the Army he spake thus, "Some may thinke me fearfull of the loffe of my Kingdome, and from thence " grown kind, and to speak now what may move you to courage: and it is no strange "conceit, for ill natur d men use to be curteous to meaner people when they need "them; and to be churlish to those whose service they have no use of. For me; I " care neither for loffe of life, nor Kingdome: I could wish this day to put off this " purple robe, if a Goth were to put it on; and I think the death of Theodatus to " have been very happy, loofing his life and Government at once, by the hands of "his own Nation : A private difaster, not ruining the whole race, is not without " comfort to a wife man. When I confider the mileries of the Vandales, and the end of Gelimer, I can think nothing tollerable. Me thinks I fee the Goths with their " children made flaves, and their wives doing the baself services to their greatest foes; "and my felf, with this Daughter of Theodoricks daughter, led away whether it plea-" fes our Enemies I would have you with the fear of these things to enter into this "fight; for fo will you rather chuse death upon the place, then fafety after an over-"throw. Generous men judge of mis-fortunes by one rule only; namely to be "vanquisht by their Enemies : Besides, a quick Death makes men happy before " miserable. And it is evident that these our choice men disputing this battell will " easily overcome the Enemy, ( a few Greeks, or no better then Greeks) and chastise "them for the wrongs and fcorns they have done us. Certainly we hold our felves "their betters in valour, numbers, and every thing; and their boldnesse is grown out of our mis-fortunes, nothing sustains them but our negligence; it is their "prospering beyond their deserts that feeds their confidence. Vitigis having used this Exhortation, marshalled his army. He placed his bataillion of foot between the wings of horse very neer their intrenchments, that having routed the Enemy they might overtake them the better, and have the Execution in a great way of Ground. For by reason the Enemies army was much inferiour in powers, he hoped that the battell coming to Sword and Lance, they would not be able to stand them. They began on both sides early in the morning, Vitigus and Belisarius incouraging their men in their Reares. At first the Romans had the better, and the Goths fell thick by the shot: but there was no rout; the Goths with their great numbers eafily supplying the slain, that the losse was not seen; and the Kemans being few thought it enough to be at this point, to continue the fight up to the entrenchments, and having killed many to return to the city with the first faire pretence. In this Encounter three Romans did best; Athenodorus an Isaurian, one of the life Guard to Belifarius, of good reputation; and Theodoret and George, Cappadocians, and of the Life Guard to Martinus; who still sallied out of their bataillion, and kept off the Barbarians. In Nero's feilds both fides stood still a long time, onely the Moores made excursions darting their Javelins, and infested the Goths, who would not charge them for fear of the common people, whom they tooke to be Souldiers; and to thand there with some design to get their backs and by shooting them both waies to ruine them. About noon suddenly the Romans there gave on, and routed the Goths amazed with the suddennesse who could not fly to their quarter, but got up to fome hill and there stood. The Romans(though many) were most an unarmed multitude; many mariners and Servants being mingled with Souldiers, and the main army being else where; yet terrifying the Goths with their numbers they thus routed them; but by their diforder undid themselves. For the Souldiers being so mingled fell into confusion, and were deaf to all the directions of Valentinus their Commander; They not so much as followed the Enemy nor killed any, but gave them leave quietly upon the hills to view what they did. Neither came it into their minds

to cut the bridge which had excluded the Enemy from beyond the Tiber, and from belieging Rome on both fides: nor by passing the bridge, did they charge the Enemies backs fighting with Belifarius Troops; which had put the Enemy to flight doubtlesse without resisting any longer; but they turn'd to pillage the Enemies quarter, and carryed away much filver veffell and other Goods. where they were, flood still a while to see what they did. At last all together shouting, and with much fury they charged them; and finding them pillaging and in confufion, they killed many, and drave away the rest; who threw away their pillage and ran away. Whilst this was doing in Nero's feilds, the other Goths neere their quarters fencing with their sheilds refisted the Enemy, and killed many men, and more horses. The Romans some wounded, some having lost their Horses, lest their rancks, and then in the army (small before) the sewnesse was more apparant, and their great disproportion to the Goths multitude; which the Barbarian horse perceiving, from the left wing gallopt toward the Enemy next them. biding the Goths Lances, fled to their bataillion of foot, who stood not the charge neither, but ran away together with the horse; and presently the whole army retired with the Enemy at their heeles, and it was an absolute route. But Principius and Tarmutus with some few foot did things worthy their valour, and made a stand: fighting, and not induring to be routed, and the Goths admiring their resolution. By their means the foot, and most of the horse escaped with more ease. Principius with his body hewen in peices fell upon the place, and neer him two and forty of the foot. But Tarmutus with an Isaurian Javeling in either hand kept off the affailants, and being spent with perpetuall knocks, his Brother came to his succour with fome horse, which revived him, that with full speed he ran to the walls full of sweat and wounds, and having still both his Javelins. Being a strong man and swift, hee got cleer (though in that case) as far as to Porta Pinciana, where he fell downe. His companions thinking him dead, brought him in upon a sheild. He survived onely two dayes and then dyed, leaving a great name behind him in the whole Army. The Romans within were terrified, guarded the walls, and tumultuously shut the gates against the flying souldiers, fearing the Enemy might enter with them pell mell. Such Souldiers, as had not gotten within the walls already, leapt over the ditch, and with their backs to the walls stood trembling, unable to keep off the Goths (ready to leap over the Ditch to them ) in regard their Lances were broken, and their bowes they could not use standing so close to one another. While few were on the battlements, the Goths prest on to cut them in peices, and all that were lest behind; but when they saw numbers of Souldiers and common people upon the battlements ready to refill, they rode back despairing thereof after some railing words. And thus the fight, which began at the Goths Trenches, ended at the ditch and city Wall.

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#### XXI.

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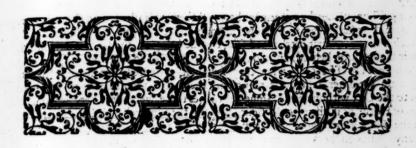
The Poe strangely is so low, that the Goths provisions are intercepted. The Goths resuse the Francks motion to divide Italy. Belisarius hires one to burn the magazins of Ravenna: Castles upon Alpes Cottiæ are taken in by the Romans.

#### XXIV.

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#### XXV,

Belisarius is sent for home: Uraias refuses to be King of the Goths. They chuse Ildebad; and by his advice importume Belisarius to take the Kingdome: He constantly refuses, and goes towards Constantinople.



# HISTORY OF THE WARRS of the Emperour

# JUSTINIAN.

Of the GOTHICK VVarre, the fecond BOOK.

# CHAP. I.



HE Romans durst no more hazard their whole Army with the Goths, but skirmished with the Goths (as before) with their Horse. Both of them were lined with Foot marching at their Horses sides; and ever the Romans had the better of the Barbarians. Bessas in one Encounter, charging the Enemy with his Lance, killed three of their best Horse-men, and made the rest run away. Constantianus at another time, led the Hunnes into Nero's Feilds about the Evening, and finding himselfe over-matcht in numbers, he did thus. Up-

on a great old Stadium standing there (where formerly the Fencers used to combat) are many houses built, and consequently divers narrow Lanes. Constantianus not able to Encounter the Goths multitude, nor yet safely to run from them, caused the Hunnes to alight from their Horses, and with them made a stand in a narrow Lane; and shooting the Enemy from a secure place, killed many. The Goths a while stood their shot, hoping when the Hunnes Quivers were empty, to take them all Prisoners good cheap; But they being good Archers, and shooting at a multitude, almost at every shot killed an Enemy, that halfe their number appeared to be lost. And being about Sun-set, and having no place to be safe in, they ran away; and the Hunnes pursuing them close, and being excellent to shoot upon the full speed, killed them as sast as before, and at night came back to Rome with Constantianus. Some daies after Peranius sallied at Porta Salaria with Romans, and routed the Gothes. The over-throw being suddain, and about Sun-set, a Roman Foot-man in the tumult fell into a Pit, there being many anciently made in that place to lay up Corn in. He durst not cry out so neer the Enemies Camp, and he could not get up; so there he staied all night, the next day the Barbarians being again routed, a Goth sell into the same Pit. They here grew acquainted; necessity

making them Friends, and they sware to procure each others safety; and then both roared as loud as they could. The Goths ran to the Pit, and askt who made that crying: The Roman by agreement between them was filent, and the other prayed them in their Language, to let down a Rope to lift him up; they threw in a Rope, which the Roman first catcht, and said, that he being up, the Goths would not leave their Companion behind, but would make no account to fave him being an Enemy, and so got up. The Goths when they saw him, wondred, but hearing the Story, took up the other, who went along with them, and the Roman was permitted to go to the City without harm. Some Bravadoes there were often between small parties of Horse, as if they would fight; but still the Quarrell ended in a Duell, wherein the Romans ever had the Victory. At an Encounter in Nero's Feilds, there being many Chases on both sides by the Horse, Chorsomantis of the Life-guard to Beli-Jarius, by Birth a Hunne, pursued with some others 70. Goths; who being gon far, the rest rode back, only Chorsomantis followed still; the Goths turn'd about at him, and he killed on of their best men, and routed the rest: They fearing that they were feen from their Trenches, and ashamed, charging him again, and again, after the losse of another of their best men, were made to run away as fast as before; and Chorsomantis chased them up to the Trenches, and then returned all alone. Not long after at another Fight he was thot into the left leg to the bone, and lying for the cure unserviceable, he chased (being a Barbarian) and threatned to be even with the Goths, for the wrong they had done his leg. When he was well, and had drunk flore of Wine at his Dinner, out he went towards the Enemy to be revenged for his leg; he told the Sentinels at Porta pinciana, that Belifaring fent him to the Enemies Camp, who not mistrusting one of the Generals Guard, opened the Gate, and let him go out. The Enemy feeing him, took him for a Fugitive; but when he was come neer, and fell to use his Bow, some twenty came upon him, whom he shook off and retired a foot pace; more came on, yet he would not run away, and still resisting (though more still charging him.) The Romans from the Turrets seeing it, thought him some mad man, not knowing it to be Chorsomantis, who did there brave things, and highly to be commended : but at last being compassed by the Enemy, he paid the penalty of his fool-hardinesse. Belisarius and the Army ( when they knew who it was ) mourned for him, as if all their hopes had perished with

# CHAP. II.

UT about Midsommer, Euthalius arrived at Taracina, with Monies from Constantinople owing to the Army; who fearing the Enemy, and his Money, wrote to Belifarius to conduct him fafe into Rome, who fent out a 100. of his Targetiers, with two of his Lanciers to Taracina, to convoy the Treasure, and himselfe made a shew of giving Battell to the whole Army, to amuse the Enemy from going out upon occasion of Forraging. The nex day hearing Euthalius with his convoy would arrive, he ordered his Army for a Fight; and knowing Enthalins would enter by night, he stood fall the morning neer the Gates in Armes, and at Noon he commanded the Army to dine; the Goths did likewise, thinking that he put off the Battell till the next day: Then he fent Martinus, and Valerianus to Nero's Feilds, to give Alarmes to the Enemy there. And at Porta Pinciana he fent out 600. Horse against the Trenches, led by three of his Life-guard, Areacines a Persian, Buchas a Hunne, and Cutilas a Thracian. The Enemy encountred them with many, and a good while they spent in charges, and retirings only, without coming up to the Sword, and Lance, feeming willing fo to weare out the day. At last they grew angry, and the Fight being hot, many, and of the best fell, and feconds came in from the City and the Camp; from whence ( the Skirmish growing more and more) the shouts filled the Combatants with Courage. In conclufion the Romans routed them; Cutilas was hit into the head with a Dart, which flicking therein, he followed the Execution; and that being done, he rode with the rest into the City, with the Dart dangling on his head; a strang Sight. Arxes a

Targetier of Belisarius was shot between the nose and the right eye; the Arrowes head peircing to his neck, but not appearing through, and the Shaft as he rode shaked upon his Fore-head: The Romans wondered to see him, and Cutilas, ride so little sensible of such hurts. This was the Successe here; but in Nero's Feilds the Goths had the better: Martinus and Valerianus sustaining their great numbers, with much difficulty and danger. Belifarius commanded Buchas, who was come off untoucht, to ride up to Nero's Feilds, to fuccour there; who falling on suddenly, and in the Evening, defeated them : but charging himselfe too far, he was compast by twelve Enemies with Lances; which troubled him not, his Corfelet holding good against the pushes thereof, till a Goth thrust him behind under his right arme-hole, which Wound was not mortall : but another thrust him into the left thigh, and cut the Muscle acrosse. Valerianus, and Martinus, rode speedily to his rescue, and heat off the Enemy, then led him into the City, taking his Horse by the Bridle. Night being come, Euthalius entred the City with the Treasure, and all being within, they lookt to their hurt men; the Surgeons defired to take the Arrow out of Arzes Face, but demurred; not in respect of the eye (which they had no thought to fave) but least by tearing the Membranes and Nerves there-about, they might kill one of the bravest men of Belisarius retinew. One of them ( named Theoliftus) pressing with his hand behind upon the neck, askt if it pained him; he answering that it did: then ( quoth the Surgeon ) your life is safe, and your Sight unhurt. This his confidence was, because he found the head of the Arrow not far from the Skin; fuch of the Shaft which thuck out, he cut off and threw away, then opened the Fibres, or small Strings, where his pain was most, and drew out the Arrow head with the rest of the Shaft that way with eale; So Arzes was not only unmaimed, but had not so much as a Skar left in his Face. But the Dart being pulled violently out of Cutilas head (where it stuck deep, and fast) he swounded; then the Meninges inflaming, he fell into a Phrensie, and died quickly. Buchas thigh fell into fuch a bleeding, by reason the Muscle was cut croffe-way, that he died within three daies. The Romans mourned that night for these mis-fortunes, and from the Goths Trenches heard extream Lamentations. They wondred at it, not supposing the Enemy to have received any notable losse, but to have had much more in former Skirmithes, which troubled them not, by reason of their multitudes. The next day they knew that it was for many of the brawest men they had stain, in Buchas first Encounter in Nero's Feilds. Many petty Skirmishes there were, which I mention not: In all there were during the Seige, 67, the two last shall be related in their due place. And then ended the Winter, and the second yeare of this War, written by Procopins. with their Anonco;

Incipit
Annus 3. bel.
Goth.
11. Reg. Justinian An.
Dom. 537.

# CHAP. III, of the

Some after the middle of the Summer, the City was visited with Famine, and Pestilence, and the Souldier also was in want of Corn, but of no other Provision. But the Citizens besides that want, were sorely press with the Famine, and Pestilence. The Geths sound it, and resolved to hazard no more Fights; but with Garrisons to hinder the importing Provisions to the Enemy. Two Aquæducts between Via Latina, and Via Appia, high built with goodly Arches, meet at a place about six miles from Rome; then that which took the right-hand way before, goes to the lest, crossing one another, and again they meet, and sever again, inclosing the ground in the middle; and the Goths damming up the Arches with Stone, and Earth, made it as a Castle, and lodged in it a Garrison of 7000 men, to cut of the Roman Forragers. The Romans: then grew hopelesse, compassed with every species of misery. While the Corn was, some Souldiers (the most daring) rode out in the night, and cut off the Eares, and brought them in unseen by the Enemy, upon spare Horses, and sould them to the Rich for great Sums. The rest lived upon Grasse growing within, and neer the Walls, (The Feilds about Rome being green with Grasse Summer, and Winter, which served the Army for their Horses.) Some

made Sauffages of Mules flesh which died in the Towne, and fould them secretly, But the Corn being gone, and the Citizens in extremity, they flockt about Belifaring, urging him to end all in one Battell, and promiting that not a Citizen should be absent from it. He was much troubled, and the Commons still importuned; say-"ing, that their present Condition had over-taken them suddenly, and that their "hopes ended in the quite contrary; having gotten what they longed for, and yet now being in this Calamity: And their former Opinion of doing well, in "affecting the Emperours Protection, being now their folly, and the ground of "their mifery, which now necessitated them to a daring, and again to put on Armes "against the Enemy. They craved Pardon, though fawcy with Belifarius. A hon-"gry belly knowes no modelty; and their fool-hardinesse to fight, Fortune must "excuse, seeing life prolonged in misery, is of all the most grievons. That he saw "their case, their Farmes in the Country in the Enemies hands, and their City "blockt up; the Citizens lying dead without earth to cover them, and the Sur-"vivers wishing their Carkasses lying by them; all mischieses being made tolerable "by the Plague, and forgotten, when that appeares, it making all other Deaths, but from it selfe, a kind of pleasure. They prayed leave to try their Fortune in "Fight, before the ficknesse had utterly subdued them; either they should conquer, " or be rid of their troubles. Men who have hope in delaying, are unwife to hazard "all with forwardnesse; but in such as find their match the worse by deferring, a "little delay is more to be blamed, then instant rashnesse. To this Speech Belisa-" riss made this answer; This is no more then I expected from you: I know what "an inconfiderate thing a common People is; who neither can beare the pre-"fent, nor provide for the future; only it can attempt Impossibilities, and ruineit " felfe unadvifedly. But let me never willingly destroy you, and the Emperours Af-"faires by your negligence. The War prospers not by bruitish eagernesse, but by "weighing the Opportunities wifely, and with confultation. You thinking you are "at Dice, will throw at all; but it is my manner not to chuse hasty, but profitable "counfels. You promife to fight with the Enemy in our Company : fince when " have you been trained to your Armes? and were you perfect therein, who knows "not, that a Battell is, not proper to try Masteries in? In the Fight the Enemy "will not give you leave to practife, and learn. I commend therefore your forward-"nesse, and pardon this Tumult. But why it is not seasonable, and why we uses "provident backwardnesse, I will tell you. The Emperour hath sent a mighty "Army gathered out of all Lands, and a Fleet (the like whereof the Romans never had) covering the shores of Campania, and much of the Jonian Gulfe. These "Forces are coming to us, and will deliver you from your feares, and over-whether "the Barbarians with their Arrowes; and I defer our fighting till their Arrivall, " to get rather a fecure Victory, then by adventring without reason, to abandon "our safety; and I will take order, they shall be with us without delay. Belisarius with this quieted the Commons, and dismist them. And it being reported, that the Emperour, would fend Forces to Naples, he dispatcht Procopins thither, the Writer of his History, with Instructions to freight Ships with Corn, and to affemble the Souldiers come from Confrantinople, and the Horse men quartred in those Countries; and marching then into Campania, to take also some out of every Garrifon, and to convoy the Corn to Offia. Procepius went out at Saint Pauls Gate, with Mundilas one of the Life-guard, and some Horse-men, and were not seen by the Enemy, quartered by Via Appia. When Mundilas at his return, reported how Procopins was by that time in Campania, without meeting a Goth, who went not out of their Camp in the night, they all took hart: And Belifarius grown bolder, fent flore of Horse to the next Fortresses, from thence to charge the Enemies Forragers, and to lay Ambushes to cut of their bringing Provisions to the Camp, that by this the City might be leffe vexed with wants, and the Goths might be heleiged more then It. He fent Martinus, and Traianus with a 1000 men to convoy his Wife Antonina to Taracina, and from thence to give her a convoy to Naples; where the was to expect the Event in a fafe place. And he fent Mugnus, and Simthues, one of his Life-guard, with 500. men to the Castle of Tibur, standing about 17. miles from Rome. To the small City of Alba, standing so many miles also from Rome, upon Via Appia, he had before fent Gontharis with some Herulians, whom

the Enemy beat out from thence a while after. There stands a Church of the Apostle Saint Paul, a mile and three quarters from the walls of Rome upon the Tiber. It is not fortified, but a Porticus reaches to it from the City, which with the buildings upon it make the place not easily to be invaded. The Goths also so much reverence those two Apostles, that during the siege no hurt was done to either of these Temples, but the preists celebrated divine Service in them as formerly. In this place Belisarius commanded Valerianus with all the Hunnes to intrench upon the bancks of Tiber, thereby to favour the pasturing of their own Horse, and to restrain the Goths from coming out so far at their pleasure. Valerianus encamped the Hunns accordingly, and then returned to the City, And Belisarius having settled these things, lay still, resolving to begin no sight, but to defend only the walls from harm, and to some of the Commons he distributed corne.

# CHAP. IV.

But Martinus and Trajanus, past in the night by the Enemies camps, came to Taracina, and sent Antonina with a convoy into Campania; themfelves seised the fortresses there about: from whence issuing and charging ever suddenly, they restrained the Goths inroads that way. Magnus also, and Synthues, repaired the decayes of the castle of Tibur, and from a safe place infested the Enemy, and a fortification they had not far off, frighting with unlook't for charges their convoys of provisions: Untill Synthues by a hurt of a Lance upon his right hand, was disabled, his sinews being cut asunder. The Hunnes also, quarter'd neer there about, did the Goths as much hurt; that the Famine vexed them, having not provisions brought so freely; and the plague killed many, especially in the camp neer Via Appia; where the sew that escaped ran to the other intrenchments: The Hunnes also suffered the like, and went back to Rome.

Procopius in Campania got together 500 fouldiers, and ships freighted with corn, and when Antonina came, the took care with him to fet out the fleet. Vefuvius then bellowed, but did not cast up, which was expected; and the inhabitants were terribly frighted. This mountain stands eight miles three quarters from Naples northward, steep, and thick with wood below, and above craggy and very wild. At the top is a deep cave, feeming to reach to the bottom of the mountaine, and if you peep in, you may fee fire, which ordinarily keeps in, not troubling the people; But when the mountain bellowes like an Oxe, soon after it casts out far away a huge quantity of cynders, which catching a man upon the way, he hath no means to fave his life; if it fall upon houses, they fall with the weight; if the wind blow stiff, it rifes up past ones fight, and is carryed by the wind to very farr countryes. They fay, it fell once in Constantinople, which so frighted the Citizens, that to this day they have yearly publick supplications to appeale God; and that another time it fell in Tripolis. Formerly this bellowing came every 100 yeares, or more, but fince oftner. When the Vefuvius casts out cynders, they are confident of a plentifull year: the aire about it is pure, and none more healthy; that the Physitians fend thither men far gone in Consumptions.

But from Constantinople arrived at Naples 3000 Isaurians, commanded by Panlus and Conon, and at Otranto 800 horse, Thracians, led by John, Sisters Son of that Vitalianus, who for merly rebelled against the Emperour. With them were a 1000 more horsemen, commanded by Alexander and Marcentius, and others. Zeno with 300 horse was already come to Rome through Samnium, and by Via Latina. John and the rest coming into Campania with many waggons out of Calabria, and joyning the 500 levied (as I said) in Campania, marcht by the Sea shore with their waggons, which they were to fortisse with, in case of an Enemies assault. Panlus & Conon they sent by sea with their troops, to joyn with them at Ostia, having put corn sufficient in their waggons & fraighted the ships therewith, & with wine and other provisions. They thought to find Martinus & Trajanus about Taracina, but they were newly sent for, and gone to Rome. Belisarius fearing the Enemy with multitudes might cut off the troopes marching with John, and having at the beginning of the warre

ram'd up Porta Flaminia with stones, that the Enemy encamping neer it, might not there force the city ( neither was there ever any fight there, nor did the Barbarians looke for any Enemy thence ) from this gate he took away the stones secretly, and put there in armes the greatest part of his army, and at day - break he fent out Diogenes and Trajanus, by Porta Pinciana, with a thousand horse, to shoot into the Enemies quarters, and when they came out to run away, upon the full speed to the town walls. They accordingly provoked the Goths, who from all their quarters encountred them; and both parts came upon the speed towards the walls, the one flying the other pursuing. When Belisarius saw the Enemy upon the chase, he opened Porta Flaminia, and drew out the army unexpected. Neer the high way, there was one of their camps and before it a narrow lane craggy and hard to passe: where a Barbarian gallant and well armed, feeing the Enemy coming ran and prepofessed the said passage, calling to his companions to help to maintain it; but Mundilas overtook him and killed him, not fuffering any of the rest to come to the Lane. So they went through without opposition to the Enemies quarter: which some attempted, but could not take it, though few were within, by reason the ditch was deep and the Earth cast up inward, and was raised to a kind of a wall, and the stakes were very well pitcht and thick, wherein the Goths trusting refisted valiantly. Aquilinus a Targetier of Belifarius, and very valiant, leapt into the quarter, drawing his horse by the bridle after, and some he killed; but they darted thick at him, and killed his horse, himself escaped strangely through the Enemy, and went towards Porta Pinciana, with his fellowes, who overtook the Goths yet purfuing, and killed them shooting them behind. Trajanus with his troopes, feeing it, (their horse there also seconding) gallopt against the pursuing Goths, who surprized between the Enemy thus, were flain in confusion; and the flaughter was great, and few recovered their Quarters: Which they were all afraid of, kept in, and fortified; expecting a present affault. In this fight Trajanus was shot above his right eye, neer the nose. The arrow head though broad and long stuck fast, and was not seen; but the shaft fell off, the head being loofe fet. Trajanus felt it not, but continued chasing and killing; & 5 years after the point of the arrow head appeared of it felf out of his fore head. This is the third year that still by little and little it comes out; and in time 'tis thought it will all come out. In the mean time it is no trouble to him at all.

# CHAP. V.

UT the Goths upon these successes despaired of the warr, and thought of retiring, being reduced by the plague and Ememy from many thousands to a few, pincht with famin, excluded from all provisions, and in thew besieging, but indeed besieged themselves. Hearing also of other forces come from Constantinople, by fea and land, not as they were, but as fame gave them out; they confulted upon a retreat, and fent into Rome a Roman of good account among them, "with two other Ambassadors, who spake thus to Belisarius. How neither part hath got by this war, all of us find by our experience of the incommodities there-"of. And neither army can deny what no man can be ignorant of, that no wife man "wil for a little Emulation perpetually toil and feek no relaxation; he must be senf-"leffe that fayes the contrary. So that it behooves our Princes, not to facrifice "their Subjects safety to their own Glory; but to imbrace what is just and profi-"table not only for themselves but their adversaries, and so to end these troubles. "By defiring moderate things, difficulties are accommodated, but by wrangling no-"thing concluded. We having therefore advised upon a conclusion of the war, are "come to propound things advantagious to both, parting with some of our Right, "as we conceive. And do not you by contending with us run your felves rather, "then chuse what is best for you; and herein it is not so good to use Rhetoricall " fpeeches, but to reply instantly, if any thing feem to be faid or done amisse. Belifa-" rins approved the conference to be so, but bade them speak peccable & just things. "They replyed, you have done us wrong to take arms against us your freinds and "allyes, and we will fay what you all know: The Goths conquered Italy, not for-

cing it from the Romans; but Odoacer had deposed the Emperour and changed "the state into a Tyranny: and Zeno, then Emperour of the East, desiring to re-" yenge his fellow Emperor upon the usurper, & to free the Province, but unable to "fuppreffe Odoacer, perswaded our Prince Theodoriok, (ready then to besiege him in "Constantinople) to lay down that quarrell, being a Patritian, and having been a Roman Consult; and by revenging the wrong done to Augustulus, upon Odoacer; to become with the Goths lawfull master of the province. Thus we received the "Dominionof Italy, and have maintained the Common-Wealth and Lawes, as "much as any Emperour. There is not one new Law made by Theodorick; nor "any of his Successors, written, nor unwritten. And concerning Faith and Gods "Worship, we have conserved them exactly, that not an Italian willingly nor "unwillingly hath changed his Religion, and when Goths have changed, it hath not "been questioned. The Romans Churches have been by us held in highestReverence, and none flying to them hath been violated. The great Offices the Ro-"mans have had, not a Goth hath been advanced to any. If any man think this not to be fo, let him stand out and disprove me. Nay the Goths have given way, that "the Roman Consulpip should yearly be conferred on Romans, by the Eastern Em-"perour. Things being thus; you, who never pretended to Italy, wasted by Bar-barians under Odoacer (who for ten yeares together wrought so much mischiefe ) now force out the lawfull Purchasers, having nothing to do with it. "Be gone therefore from us, keeping what is yours, and the Booties you have

"taken. Belifarins replied: Your promise was to be briefe and moderate, but your discourse hath been tedious, and something insolent. The Emperour Zeno sent "Theodorick against Odoacer, not to be King of Italy (for to him what distinction "could be between one Usurper and another?) but that it might be free and obedi-"ent to the Emperour. And Theodorick did good Service against the Usurper, but "in the rest proved extreamly ungratefull; never bethinking himselfe to restore the Country to the Lord thereof. He that ejects forcibly, and he that restores "not what is his Neighbours, is the fame man. For me, I may not give away the Em-"perours Provinces: If you would have any thing elfe, speak on. Ambassadour.
"You know all, that we have spoken nothing but truth. But to shew, we affect no "Disputes; we quit to you Sicily, a great and rich Island, without which you "cannot hold Africk securely. And we † quit all Britanny to the Goths, greater then Sicily, and formerly subject to the Romans. It is fit to requite such as do us Benefits, with the like. If we mention Campania, and Naples, you will not ac-"cept. Belisarius: We have no power to dispose of what is the Emperours, but with "his liking. Ambassadour. Nor if we shall yelld to the payment of an annual Tri-"bute. Belifarius: No truly; we have no absolute power in any thing, but to guard "the Province for the Conquerour. Ambassadour. Be pleased then we may repaire "to the Emperour, and conclude and accord with him, and some time must be "limited for the Armies to forbeare hostility. Belifarins: Be it fo, I will not hinder, while you confult upon wayes of peace. Thus the Conference ended, and the Ambassadorurs returned to the Goths Camp.

CHAP. VI.

FTER often meetings, they concluded a Cessation, and to give Hostages mutually of eminent men. During this negotiation, the Fleet of Isanrians came into the Haven of Rome, and the Troops of John to Ostia, without the Enemies interruption to land or encamp. The Isanrians to lodge securely from the Enemie, drew a deep Ditch neer the Haven, and kept guards; and John lay senced within his Waggons. At night Belisarius came to Ostia with a 100. Horse, acquainting them with the occurrents, and conclusion with the Goths, & commanding them to send up their sading, and to goe boldly to Rome; promising them to secure the way for them: himselse before day rode back into the City. When it was day, Antonina consulted with the Commanders about sending up their lading; which seemed difficult, and scarce saisible. The Oxen were halfe dead, and could not hold

Mr. Cambden out of this passage, and other authorities, proves the Goths to inbabit Scotland, fent thither by Gratian, and Valeminian; & that the Scots are their delcendents vid. Camb. Brit. page 88.

hold out : and it was unsafe to go with their Waggons in a way so narrow; and to draw Lighters up the River, as formerly, was impossible, the left hand way by the fame being possessed (as I said ) by the Enemie, and not passable for the Romans; and by the other bank was no paffage at all : So that taking the Cock-boats of the greater Ships , and walling them round with boards, to guard the men from thot, they put aboard those Boats a proportion of Archers, and Marriners; and stowing as much as they could carry in them , and getting a wind, they failed up the dir; a part of the Army winging them on the right hand shore: And they left a strong guard of Ifanrians in the Ships. Their failes they tooke from the Enemy, and went up with ease. Only where the Stream with an eddy went side-long, their fails had no wind for them, and the Marriners rowed, and with much toyle forced up. The Barbarians interrupted them not, either fearing to hazard, or not thinking provisions could be imported that way. And they held it inconvenient to crosse the Cessation promised, upon a slight occasion; In Portus also the Goths medled not with them, as they fayled by them, wondring what their intent was. Having in this manner, failing to and fro, imported their ladings; the Marriners went away with the Ships, it being now toward the Winter Tropick. The rest of the Army entred Rome, save Paulus, who staid in Ostia with some Isaurians. Afterward they gave Hostages for observing the Cessation, the Romans Zeno, and the Goths, Ulias, a man of quality; Neither to invade the other for three moneths, till the Ambaffadors should bring the Emperours resolution. And if any should begin to wrong the other, yet the Ambassadors should be returned home safe. The Goths Ambaffadors were convoyed by the Romans to Constantinople; and Ildiger, who married Antonina's daughter, came from Africk to Rome with a faire troop of Horse. The Goths in the Castle of Portus wanting provisions, quitted it, and came to the camp by Vitigis direction: The place Paulus with his Isaurians from Oftia furprized. It was the Romans being Masters of the Sea, which caused these wants of Victuall, permitting no Provisions to come to the Barbarians. Upon the like scarcity they quitted then also Centumcella, a Sea Towne of much importance, great, and populous, and standing in Tuscany, 35. miles to the West of Rome. The taking of it much strengthened the Romans: and of Alba likewife, standing to the East of Rome, and abandoned by the Enemy for the same reason. So that the Romans compassed them round; which made the Goths eager to breake the Accord, and to do them mifchiefe. They fent Ambassadors to Belisarius, complaining, that Vitigis having upon some occasion sent for the Goths from the Castle of Portus, Paulus without any reason had surprized it; and pretending the like for Alba and Centumcella, with menaces, if they had not restitution. Belisarius sent them away, laughing at their pretext, all men knowing why they quitted those places. From hence forward they were suspicious of each other.

Belifarius feeing then Rome strong with Souldiers, sent out many parties of Horse to places neer Rome: And Vitalianus, Johns Nephew, to winter about Alba in Picenia, with his own 800. Horse, and 400. of the Troopes of Valerianus, whose Sisters Son Damianus commanded them, and 800. of his own Targetiers, extraordinary good men, led by two of his Life-guard, Sutas, and Abigis. These he directed to tollow John, whithersoever, and him, while the Enemy kept the Truce, to be quiet; but if they broke it, suddenly to fall upon Picenia, to visit the Townes before they had newes of his coming, (sew men being lest in the Country, but almost all before Rome; and their Wives, Children, and Goods being in every Town some) and to carry away Captive, and pillage all he found, taking care not to hurt the Roman Inhabitants: lighting upon any Town Fortisted and Garrison'd, to attempt it; and if he took it, to march forward; but if it were too tough for him, to come back, or stay: For going on with a strong Town at his back, it would be dangerous, and he could hardly be succoured, if distressed by an Enemy: that he should keep all the Booty to be distributed to the Army. Then smiling, he added this word; That it is not just for some to toile, to kill the Droanes, and others at their ease to eat the Honey. Belissarius with these Instructions sent away John, and those Forces.

# CHAP. VII.

Bout that time Datins, Bishop of Millane, with some chiefe Citizens came to Rome, and intreated of Belifarius some Souldiers, with whom they un. dertook not only to draw Millane from the Goths to the Emperour, but all Liguria. This City is in + Liguria, in the mid way between Ravenna and the Alpes (which are upon the Frontier of Gaule ) standing eight daies Journey from either. Next to Rome it was the greatest of the Western Cities, and the most populous and rich. Belifarius promised as they defired, and kept them there the Winter; but Fortune grew envious at the Romans Prosperity, and meant to temper it with some ill; putting a quarrell between Belisarius, and Constantianus, upon a slight ground. Persidius, a Roman Citizen of quality, who dwelt at Ravenna, having offended the Goths ( when Vitigis was upon leading his Army to Rome ) under a pretence with some few Servants to go a hunting, ran away, communicating his Defigne to none, nor carrying money, nor money-worth, fave two short Swords with Scabberds, fet with much Gold and precious Stones. Being come to Spoletum, he lodged in a Church without the Walls, which Constantianus, (then there) understanding, sent Maxentiolus, one of his Targetiers, and took the Cimiters from him; who being grieved at the wrong, went to Rome to Belifarius; whether soon after came Constantianus also, the Goths Army being reported to be neer. While the Romans were in trouble and danger, Persidius was filent; but they having the better, and the Goths Embassadours being dispatched to the Empetour, he acquainted Belisarius with the Injury, praying his affishance in his just Cause; who in Person, and by others reproved Constantianus, and advised him to wash his hands of fo foule an Imputation. But Constantianus (who was to have a mischiefe) put off the advise with a Jest, and flouted the man he had wronged. Who meeting Belifarius riding through the Market place, took his Horse by the Bridle, and clamouring aloud, askt, if it were the Emperours Law, that when a poor Suppliant comes for refuge from Barbarians, any man may take from him what he hath about him. The Company threatned him, and bad him let go the Bridle; which he would not do, before Belifarins promifed to give him the Swords. The next day he called Constantianus and many Commanders to a Room in the Palace; putting him in mind of the Accident the day before, and (though late) to restore the Cimiters. He faid, he would fooner throw them into the Tiber. Belifarius grew angry; and askt, if he took not himselfe to be under his command: In other things he professed to obey him, since it was the Emperours pleasure; but that which he now commanded, he would never do. Belisarius then bad his Guard to come in; isit to kill me, quoth Constantiams? no, faid Belisarius, but to compell your Targetier Maxentiolus, to restore to the man his Swords, which he took from him by violence, and brought them to you. Constantianus supposing yet it was to kill him, thought first to do some brave Act; and drawing a short Sword, made a thrust suddenly at the Belly of Belifarins; who amazed stept back, and embracing Bessass who stood next him, avoided the danger. Constantianus yet in rage made at him; but Ildeger taking him by the right hand, and Valerianus by the left, drew him back: Then came in the Guard; who wrested his Sword from him, and Inarcht him away. Then they hart him not, respecting the Commanders prefent, but they led him to another Room, and there by Belifaring Command, killed him. This was the only † impious Act ever done by Belifarius, not conformable to the much moderation he had stillused to all men. But (as I said) Constantiamis was to have a mischiefe.

Shortly after the Goths had a defigue upon Rome: They let down some men into an Aquaduct, whose water they had out off in the beginning of the Seige; these with Lamps, and Torches searched for an entrance into the City. Not far from Porta Pinciana, an Arch of this Aquaduct had a breach in it, out of which a Centinell saw light, and told it his sellowes; they said it was a Wolfe, there being no Land to be seen over the building of the Acquaduct, they took it to be a Wolfes eyes, shewing like fire. The Goths in the Aquaduct came into the midst of the City,

\*This Author tals much more Liguria then now is. Leander faies, there was a Liguria Cifappeninna anciently. The Liguria now he names Transappennina.

This History is supplied in the secret History; where it a ppeares to be impious indeed.

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where had been an ascent into the Palace, and found there a Building made by Belisarius, providently in the beginning of the Seige, which hindred their further paffage, or ascent. So they took a small Stone out of it, and returned to Vitigis, shewing him the Stone, and relating the particulars; who held a Counsell about it. The next day the Romans upon the Guard at Porta Pinciana had speech of their fuspition about the Wolfe; which being spred, and coming to the wife Generall. he did not flightly give eare to it, but instantly let down into the Aquaduca Diogenes, one of his Life-guard, with fome choice men, to fearch; who found feattered Lamps of the Enemy, and droppings of Torches, and faw where they had taken out the Stone, and reported all to Belifarius; whereupon he kept a strong Guard upon the Aquaduct : which the Goths perceiving, forbare the attempt. But they prepared to give an open Affault; and at dinner time with scaling Ladders and fire, they came unlookt for to Porta Pinciana, hoping to take the City fo by a Sudden on-fet, few Souldiers being left within it. Ildeger then kept the Watch with his Company, every man being appointed to guard by turnes. Seeing the Enemy approach diforderly, he charged them not ranckt for a Fight, but marching in confusion, and he routed and killed them. At the noise the Romans ran up to the Walls, and the Goths without doing anything retired. Vitigis then had another defigne; the Walls are very affaultable by the Tibers Banck, the Ancients having built the Wall carelesly there, and low, without Towers, trusting to the Fortification of the River. Here he hoped to take the City, there being no confiderable guard. He corrupted two Romans dwelling about Saint Peters Church, to repaire to the Sentinels there with a Vessell of Wine about the Evening, and with some colour of kindnesse, to bestow the Wine on them, to sit drinking with them till midnight, and to throw into their Cups a sleepie Drug, which he gave them. He prepared Boats upon the opposite Shore, in which the Goths upon a Signall, (the Sentinels being asleep) were to passe over and assault; and he put the whole Army in readinesse to force the City. But one of the men hired for the Service, ( Rome being not to be taken by that Army of Goths ) revealed the Plot to Belifarius, and discovered his fellow; who upon torture opened all, and shewed the Drug given by Vitigis. Belisarius cut of his Nose, and Eares, and sent him upon an Asse into the Enemies Camp; who seeing him, saw God preventing their Counfels, and therefore the City by them not to be taken.

# CHAP. VIII.

N the mean time Belifari ns wrote to John to attend close his businesse. And

he with 2000. Horse forraged Picenia, taking all in his way, Women, and Children Captives. And he overthrew Vlithins, Vitigis his Uncle, killing him and almost his whole Army; that none durst encounter him. † At Auximum he heard there was but a weak Garrison of Goths; but finding the place strong, and hard to take, he would not befeige it, but marcht forward. He left also Urbinum, and marchttoward Ariminum, a daies Journey from Ravenna, whether some Romans invited him. The Goths being jealous of the Townes-men, when they heard of the Roman Army coming toward them, ran all away. So fohn got Ariminum, and left at his back Garrisons in Auximum, and Urbinum, not forgetting Belisarius Instructions, nor upon any ungrounded temerity (being one who had Discretion mixt with Valour ) but confidering what came to passe; that when the Goths heard a Roman Army to be neer Ravenna, they would instantly raise their Seige, affraid of the place. And he lighted upon a right conceit; for Vitigis and the Goths, understanding Ariminum to be in his Possession, and extreamly fearing Ravenna. made a direct Retreat, without any further confideration; for which John got a great Reputation, being before generally famous; a daring man, laborious in his own Person, and searlesse in dangers. He used a hard Diet, and in toiles was inferiour to no Barbarian, or common Souldier. Mattafumba, Vitigis Wife, offended

with her Husband, who at first attained her Bed by violence, and hearing John to

† Auximum is now called Ofano, in Marca Anconicanna, subject to the Pope.

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be in Ariminum, was glad of it, and secretly treated with him, touching a Marriage and a plot of Treason: This they negotiated by Messages unknown to any, And the Goths having the newes of Ariminum, and their Provisions failing, and the three Months being expired, made their Retreat, though they heard nothing of their Ambassadours successe. About the Summer Tropick having spent one yeare and nine daies in this Seige, they burnt up their Hutts, and by day-break began their Journey. The Romans seeing them, doubted what to do, their main body of Horse being not present; but sent out severall waies, as I have said; and conceiving themselves not able to fight with such multitudes: Yet Belisarius armed his Horse, and Foot; and more then halfe the Enemies being past over the Bridge, he fallied at Porta Pinciana. The Fight came to the Sword, and Lance, and the Goths at first stiffy sustaining the Enemy, many fell on both sides: But afterward the Goths being routed, made their own overthrow very great, by preffing and crowding to passe the Bridge, that they suffered extraordinary losse, being killed by Enemies and one another. Many fell into the Tiber, and were drowned in their Armes; and having loft most of their men, the rest ever-took those formerly past over. Longinus the Isaurian, and Mundilas, two of Belisarius his Life-guard, did extraordinarily in this Battell: Mundilas killed foure Barbarians, and came off; but Longinus having been the greatest cause of the Enemies overthrow, fell upon the place, much lamented by the whole Army. Vitigis in his march toward Ravenna with the remainder of his Army, fortified the defensible places with strong Garrisons; leaving in Clusium, a City in Tuscany, a 1000. men under Gelimer, and as many in Urbiventum, under Albilas a Goth; and in Tudera Uligisalus, with 400. In Picenia he continued the 400 formerly lodged in the Castle of Petra; In Auximum, the greatest City there, he left 4000 selected Goths, and Visandus a valiant Commander. And in Urbinum 2000. under Tomoras; In Casina and Monteferetrum, other Castles there, he Garrison'd 500. men in each; Himselse marcht with the rest to beseige Ariminum. Belisarius when the Seige was raised, sent Ildeger and Martinus with a 1000. Horse to get before the Enemy into Ariminum, (taking soe other way ) and to cause folm and his Troops to rise from thence, placing in their stead other sufficient numbers to guard the Town, and to be taken out of Ancona standing upon the fonian Gulfe, two daies journey from Ariminum; which he had taken in before, sending Conon with an Army of Thracians, and IJaurians. He hoped, that there being only Foot in Ariminum, and no Commanders of Note, the Goths would not imploy their powers to beseige it, but despise it, and march on to Ravenna; and if they should beseige it, that Provisions would last longer for Foot only, and that the 2000. Horse with John would insest the Enemy, and force them to raise their Seige. Ildeger, and Martinus with these Instructions took their Journey by Via Flaminia, and by much prevented the Goths, who by reason of their multitudes marcht flowly, and were forced to go about for want of Provisions, neither would they come neer the strong places upon Via Flaminia, the Romans (as hath been faid) holding Narnia, Spoletum, and Perusia.

# CHAP. IX.

But those Romans finding Petra in their way, attempted the Castle as a bybusinesse; a fortresse not made by men, but by the nature of the place, where is a craggy way, and to the right hand a swift running river unfordable; on the left hand a steep rock so high, that men on the top seem below like little birds. Anciently there was no passage through, but in time a way was dig d through it, & a gate made; the other entrance was walled, save so much as was left for a gate there, and so of it self the place became a fortification, and was named † Petra, the Rock. Martinus and Ildiger assaulted one of the Gates, but did no good with their shot, though the Goths within made no defence. At last behinde they forced their way-up the crag, and threw stones upon the Enemies heads: they ran into the houses, and there kept close. The Romans when they could not reach them with stones, cut great peices out of the Rock, and with many hands tossed

It is called afterward Petra Pertula, because of the passage cut through the Rock.

them down aiming at the houses, such as they light on tottered, and so frighted the Goths that they held up their hands to those at the Gate, and yeilded upon composition, to have no hurt, but to be servants to the Emperour, and obedient to Belifarius. Martinus and Ildiger, removed the most of them, leaving some few with their wives & children, & placing a Garrison of Romans, Then they went to Ancona from whence they took many foot companies, & brought them the third day to Arnum, declaring Belifarius his direction. But fohn refused to go with them, and detained Damianns with his 400 men; fo that leaving the foot companies, they went away with the Lanciers and Targetiers of Belifarius. Soon after Vitigis with his whole army fate downe before Ariminum. He made a woodden tower higher then the walis, and upon wheels brought it where the same were most affaultable: They drew it not on with oxen, least they should speed as they did at Rome; but men covered within it, shoved it on : within it was a great broad scaling ladder for the common fouldier to mount the battlements, they not doubting but to get up with ease so soon as their tower was set to the walls, so was the figure thereof contrived. Being come neer the walls with it, they lay still, because it grew dark, set their fentinells about it, and took their reft, dreaming of no opposition; there being but a small trench only to hinder their approach. The Romans past the night in fear, expecting the next day to be ruined. But John neither despairing nor fearing, about midnight left the rest upon their Guards, and himself with his Maurians carrying Mattocks and other inftruments, got fecretly without the walls, and caufed them to dig in the trench, and to cast up the Earth to the town-ward, which served for a rampire, and in a small time, the Enemy being fast a sleep, they made the Trench of reasonable depth and breadth, where the walls were weakest, and the Goths were to spproach with their tower: who (the night being far spent) perceived it, and ran to beat them off: but they, the trench being compleated, got within the walls. Vitigis was extreamly vexed at it in the morning, &put to death some sentinells: and being as eager as ever, commanded to fill up the ditch with Faggots, and fo to draw the tower on. They did his commands with alacrity, though mightily opposed from the walls. But the faggots with the weight of the Tower funk, that they could not get it forward, the Ground growing still steeper, where the Earth was cast up, as I sayd. So that fearing the night approaching, and the Enemies sallying to burn their Engin, they drew it back. John to hinder them , put the Souldiers in Armes, and used this Exhortation. "Fellow souldiers, and my partners in this danger, he that would live, and fee those he hath left at home; let him know that he holds "this hope by his fword only. When Belifarius fent us out, the hope and Love of " many things made us cheerfull in the businesse. We suspected not so neer the sea "(the Romans being masters of the sea) to be besieged, nor imagined, that the Emperours army could so much neglect us. Then the occasion of shewing our "affection to the state, and of getting Glory incouraged us; now, but by our va-"lour, we cannot so much as live; and for life (were there nothing else) we must of necessity undergo this hazard. And who pretends to valour also, hath a fair "opportunity this day to get Glory by it; which is gotten not by overcoming in-"feriours in power, but by a victory with leffe preparations, and greater courage. "And who love their lives best, shall gain most by daring; whose affaires (as ours "now ) are upon the Edge of a razor, fuch as are preserved only by despising dan-"ger. Having thus fayd, he led them against the Enemy, leaving some upon the battlements; the Enemy received them bravely, and it was hotly fought; and with much ado about Evening they brought their Tower to the Camp with loffe of many good men, that they referred to affault no more; but lay still to take the Romans by Famine; whose provisions failed, and they knew not which way to get supply.

# CHAP. X.

UT Belisarius sent towards Millan, 1000 Isaurians and Thracians: Ennes led the Isaurians, and Paulus the Thracians, and Mundilas commanded in cheife, having some Targetiers of Belifarius. Fidelius (made Præfect of the Palace ) being born at Millan, was thought fit to accompany these forces, having some power in Liguria. From the port of Rome, they went by Sea to Genoa, the utmost City in Tuscany, at the Entrance of the Gaulish and Spanish leas: where leaving their ships they took their journey, putting their schiffs upon waynes to passe the Poe with. Being passed the River, and come to the City of Picenum, the Goths, with many and of their best men fought with them; For such of them as dwelt in those parts, had put into Picenum their Goods of most value, it being a strong place; but the Romans after a hot fight had the victory, slew many, and failed little of taking the town; for the Goths had much ado to thut their gates, they were so closely pursued. Fidelius, as the Romans rod back, staid to pray in a Church; and having a fall by the stumbling of his horse neer the Town: the Goths fallied and killed him, unseen by the Enemy, which much greived Mundilas and the Romans, who went to Millan, and took it without fight, and all Liguria. Vitigis understanding it, fent an army thither under Vreas, his Sitters son. And Theodebert, King of the Francks, sent to his ayd at his request, 10000, not Francks, but Burgundians, that he might not seem to wrong the Emperour. These Burgundians pretended to come of their own accord, not upon the Command of Theodebert. Goths joyning with them came before Millan unexpected by the Romans, and besleged it; that they had no means to import provisions, but were instantly in want of necessaries. Neither could the Souldiers guard the walls; Mundilas having put Garrisons into Pergamum, Comum, Novarra, and other small fortresses neer Millan; and having there with himself but about 300 men, and Ennes and Paulus, so that necessarily the Cityzens were to guard in their turnes. And thus the winter ended, and the third year of this warr written by Pricopius.

But Belifarius about midfummer went against Vitigis leaving in Rome a small Garrison; and taking the rest with him. He sent some to intrench before Tudera, and Clusium, meaning to follow, and with them to besiege the Goths therein. But they hearing of the army coming, fent to Belifarius, and yeilded upon composition to have no hurt done them. He took the Goths there, and sent them to Naples and into Sicily, then left Garrisons in Tudera and Clusium, and marcht on. In the mean time Vitigis sent another army under Vacimus to Auximum, to joyne with the Goths there, and to attempt the castle of Ancona. This Ancona is a cornerd rock, from whence it hath the name, Ancon, fignifying an Elbow. It stands from Auximum ten miles, and is the Haven for it; the Castle is at the corner of a rock, very secure, but the houses without being not many, have no defence of walls. Conon, who had the Guard of the place, hearing Vacious to come against him, and not far off, fell upon a sencelesse resolution, as if it were nothing to save the Castle, People, and Souldiers. He left the cattle unguarded, and drew out some five furlongs off, standing in order of battel, not of any depth, but compassing the hill, as if he were hunting. But when they saw the Enemy so much exceeding in numbers, they all ran away to the Castle. The Barbarians pursuing, killed many that could not get in; set to their Ladders to mount the Castle, and put fire to the houses without. The Romans who dwelt within were amazed, and first having opened the Gate, and received in the flying Souldiers, now feeing the Goths at their heeles ready to enter with them, they shut the Gates, and drew up with ropes divers, and Conon among them. The Goths, mounting by their Ladders, had taken the Castle, if two men upon the Battlements had not miraculously thrust them off, the one a Thracian, and a Lancier to Belifarius, named Ulimun, the other Bulgudas a Hunne, a Lancier of Valerianus. These by chance landed a little before at Ancona, and in this fight keeping off the

Goths with their Swords, faved the Castle beyond expectation, but were carried off themselves mangled and halfe dead.

Incipit annus quartus bell. Goth, becng in Is reg. Justinian et anno domini 539.

# CHAP. XI.

Hen came newes to Belisarius, that Narles was come from Conftantinople with an army, and was in Picenia, Narfes was an Evnuch, and Treasurer to the Emperour, valiant above the condition of an Evnuch : with him came 5000 men in feverall Regiments, commanded by Justinus, Generall of Illyrium, and others; and another Narfes, a Perf-Armenian, who revolted formerly to the Romans with Horatius his Brother, who came a little before to Belifarius with other forces, and 2000 Herulians under Visandus, Alueth, and Phanotheus. Formerly the Herulians inhabited beyond the river Ifter, ferving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appeale them with human facrifices. They had Lawes differing from other men : When men were grown aged or fick, they were not to live, but to intreat their kindred to put them out of the world: Who made a pile of wood, and fet the man in the top, and fent a stranger to him, in blood, with a sword to dispatch him; then set the pile on fire, and the flame being done, gather'd up his bones, and buried them. When an Herulian died, his wife (if the would be thought vertuous) was to strangle her self over her husbands Tombe; otherwise shee was effeemed infamous, and an Enemy to her husbands kindred. In time over - topping the bordering Barbarians in populousnesse and power, they vanquisht them in fight one by one, and forraged their country, and kept them under. They subdued the Lombards being Christians, and made them pay Tribute, upon Covetousnesse cr vain glory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in those parts. In the Raign of the Emperour Anastasius, having none left to invade, they remained quiet for three years: But were discontented for it at their King Rodulphus, flocking about min, and calling him coward, and immodefuly they scoft and abused him. Who not enduring the difgrace, made a caulelesse war upon the Lombards, not charging them with breach of Treaties, or any other pretence. The Lombards fent to Redulphus to know why the Herulians were in armes against them; if their Tribute were not all paid, they would fatisfie it with advantage; if they thought it too mean, they would make it greater. But Redulphus sent their Ambassadors away with Threats. They sent again other Ambassadors, who used much entreaty; but speeding "not, the third came and advised him; In no fort to make a war without a cause: "if he did, the Lombards (though unwillingly) must oppose the invasion; calling God to witnesse, whose least drop upon the scale will weigh down all the power " of men, & as he is induced by the causes, wil determin the conclusion of this war. The Herulians not frighted herewith, nor relenting, resolved to have a Battell. Both parts being neer each other; over the Lombards the aire was suddenly over cast with a black thick cloud; there being a clear sky over the Herulians, a Prefage that the Herulians entred the fight for their own mischeife, and among those Barbarians before a battell the faddest prodigie that can be. But the Herulians, not heeding the fame, marcht proudly against the Enemy, judging of the successe by their great multitudes. But they were very many flain, with their King Rodulphus, and the rest flying were almost all cut in peices. Upon this they left their Country, and passing through all the land beyond the River Ister, came where the Regians, or Rugians had inhabited, (who were gone with the Goths into Italy) and there they fate down. But the land being wast, and famine compelling, they removed, and came to a country next the Gepades; who at the first permitted them to plant, coming as Suppliants: But afterward they wronged them, forcing their wives, and making frey of their Cattell and Goods, and at last began unjust quarrells with them: which the Herulians not able to bear, past the River Ister to dwell by the Romans there. And Anastassins the Emperour eceived them, to plant in the country. Soon after by committing much wickednesse upon their neighbouring Romans, they offended him, and he sent an army against them; which in a battell had the victory, killed most of them, and would have destroyed them all; but their cheiftains remaining, with supplications begged their lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants to the Emperour; who granted the same, and so some Hernlians escaped alive, but neither ayded nor served the Romans. Justinian coming to the Empire gave them a good coun-

try, and Goods, and made them absolute Associates, and perswaded them to be Christians; upon this they grew civiller, and applyed themselves to the Lawes of Christians, serving the Romans as Auxiliaries. But still they are false to us, and covetous; not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious mixtures with men and Beafts, being indeed the wickedeft of all men, and wretches wretchedly to perish. Some few of them continued their League with us; the rest revolted upon this occasion. To shew the savagenesse of their nature, they killed othen their King, suddenly, without alleadging any thing, but that they would no more be under a King. And indeed their King before had only the name, otherwife little advantage above a private man. All fat and ate with him, and put licentious fcornes on him; the Herulians being the most indifcreet, and the lightest men alive. This foule Fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours, and Generals. After much consultation, they resolved to send for one of the Blood Royall from the Island of Thule. For the Herulians being overthrown by the Lombards, and leaving their native Soile, some dwelt in Illyrium (as I said) others past not the River Ister, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. Conducted by many of the Blood Royall, they patt through all the Nations of the Slavonians; then passing a large desert Country, they came to a Nation called the Varnians, after whom they traversed the Nations of the Danes; the Barbarians there using no violence against them: Then they came to the Ocean, and getting Shipping, arrived at the Island of Thule, where they staid.

# CHAP. XII.

Hule is ten times bigger then Britany, much distant from it to the Northward: The most of it is waste; but in that which is inhabited are seated thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation is a King. The Sun about the Summer Tropick fets not in the Island for fourty dayes, being in all that time a strange fight still above the Earth. And neer the Winter Tropick, it is not feen in the Island for fourty dayes, but a continual night hangs over it; the Inhabitants leading a fad life all the while, and not converfing with one another. It was not my fortune to goe to this Island, though I much defired to behold the wonder: But inquiring of some that came from thence, how they knew the due times of Sun-rising and Sun-setting, they told me the true reason; That the Sun fets not indeed there for fourty dayes, but it shines sometimes from the Eastward, sometimes from the West; and when they see it returne to that place of the Horizon, where first they saw it rise, they reckon a day and a night. And in the long nights they count the dayes by the courses of the Moone, which they see every moneth. When five and thirty dayes are runn out of this long night, men used to it are sent to the tops of the Mountaines, who there seeing the Sun, bring word that within five dayes it will shine againe. For this good newes a solemne Feast is celebrated in the dark; which is the Thulites greatest Holy-day. They feare (it feemes, notwithstanding their yearely experience) that the Sun may forfake them quite. Of all the Nations of Thule, onely the Scritifini are Savages, who use no apparrell, nor shooes to their feet, nor get any mans meat out of the earth; themfelves neither manuring it, nor their Wives using any work, but both perpetually hunting; for their vast Woods and Mountaines breed multitudes of wilde Beasts; which they, catch and feed upon their flesh, covering themselves with their Skins, which they patch together with Sinews of Beafts, wanting thred, or any thing to fow with. Their Children are not nurfed like other people, with Womans milke, nor hang at the Mothers breaft, but are nourished with the Marrow of the wilde Beafts they take. The Woman having brought forth her childe, wraps it in a Skin, and hangs it on a Tree, and laying Marrow to the mouth of it, out shee goes a hunting with her Husband.

The rest of the Thulites differ not much from other people. They worship many Gods, and Damons, both Coelestiall, and of the Ayre, Earth, and Sea; and the Spirits sayd to be in Fountaines, and Rivers. They are perpetually sacrificing, and pacifying

Mr. Cambden. Nec me latet vastissimam illam vegionem Scandiam Sub Thules nomine a Procopio defcribi. Indeed this Scandia, wherin is Norway & part of Denmark, it appeares in the Mappe as a Peninfule. It is called by some of our writers, Vagina gentium.

cifying with blood; and their fairest Victime is a Man, before taken Prisoner, whom they facrifice to Mars, esteemed their greatest God. And they doe it, not by cutting his throat onely, but hanging him on a tree, and throwing him among Bryers, and other kinds of death. Among these Thulites the Herulian wanderers planted themselves; and those who continued among the Romans, having murdered their King, fent some chiefe men to the Island of Thule, to bring home one of the blood royall, if they could finde any there. They found many, and made choice of one whom they liked best, and tooke him with them. But being come neer home, he dyed of a sicknesse; and the men went againe to Thule, and brought another, named Todasius, accompanied with his Brother Aordus, and two hundred Herulians of the Illand. Who being long upon their journey, the Hernlians about Simgedon conceiving it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from Thule, without the Emperour fustinians consent, sent to Constancinople to the Emperour, to give them what King he pleased : He sent them Suartuas, an Herulian, who had long continued in Constantinople, whom the Herulians at first received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the usuall directions: But within few daies, they had newes how the Ambassadours from Thule were neer, Suartuas commanded them to go out and kill them; and the Herulians followed him with a feeming approbation; but being within a daies journey of them, they revolted from him by night to the new commers, and himselse alone fled to Constantinople; the Emperour was studious to restore him; and the Herulians fearing the Romans, betook themselves to the Gepades: And this was the cause of their Revolt.

# CHAP. XIII.

HE Armies of Belisarius and Narses joyned at Firma, a City standing neer the fonian Gulfe, a daies journey from Auximum. They held a Counfell of War where to oppose the Enemy with best advantage. If they go to releive Auximum, they doubted the Enemy from Auximum might at their backs infest them, and spoile the Romans inhabiting those parts. And likewise of the beseiged in Ariminum, they were affraid they might be distressed for want of Victuall. Most of the Captaines offended with John, charged him in their speeches for running into that danger rashly, and to get money, and for crossing (contrary to order ) the Counsels of Belisarius concerning the War. But Narses (who loved John above all men ) fearing least Belisarius upon the Captaines speeches might put Ariminum in the second place, spake thus. Fellow Commanders, you dis-" course in things not to be discoursed of, and consult where none reasonably can "be of two Opinions; but where he who never knew the War may chuse upon "the sudden. When the danger appeares equall, and the damage alike in mistaking, " aboundant consultation, and much discourse is fit, and so to determine the mat-"ters propounded. But we deferring to attempt Auximum now, shall receive no " important hurt; for what so soon can alter our case? Whereas if we receive "a blow at Ariminum (as can no otherwise be) we shall ruine (a harsh word) "our whole power in Italy. If John have contemned your Commands, excellent Be-" lifarius, you have it now in your power to punish him, by saving the Offender, " or abandoning him to the Enemy. But take heed you do not punish the Emperour " and us, for an unwitting Offence of John. If the Goths take Ariminum, they will "make Captive a valiant General! with his Army, and a City of the Emperours " obedience. Neither will the mischiese stop there, but even constitute the whole for-"tune of the War. For the Enemy have now much advantage in numbers; but by "being often beaten, are become Cowards, their ill Fortune having taken their con-"fidence from them But if in this deligne they prosper, they will soon recover their "Spirits; and then dispute the War with more then equal Courage: Such as ef-"cape difficulties being commonly wifer, then they who never had misfortunes. "Thus Narses spake. But a Souldier from Ariminum brought Letters to Belisarius " from John, which were thus; Know, that our Victuall hath long failed us, and "we can no longer answer the People, nor refift the Enemy; but within feven daies

must fore against our wills yeild the city and our selves. We can no longer strive "against our necessities, which will sufficiently apologize for us, if we shall do any "thing not fo honorable. Belisarius at this was troubled, and full of irresolution. He was afraid of the befreged; and he doubted that the Enemy in Auximum would hy abroad and burn the towns therea bout without controule; and by watching advantages distresse his own army, especially if there should be a battell. In the end he left Aratius with a thousand men to incamp by the Sea fide, 25 miles from Auximum, and not to stir, nor give fight to the Enemy but in their own Defence; By this he hoped that the Enemy would lye quiet in Auximum, and not infest his army, having a camp of Romans so neer them. He sent also forces by Sea, commanded by Herodian, Uliaris, and Narfes, brother to Aratius, and the whole in cheif by Ildeger. Whom Belijar.us directed to fail directly for Ariminum, and to land not far of from the foot, which should march by the Sea shore commanded by Martinus, and appointed to wait upon the Fleet; whom he directed being neer the Enemy to light many fires, not proportionable to their small army so to give the Enemy apprehension of greater numbers. Himself with Narses, and the rest of the army, marcht by Orbifalia, far from the Sea coast; a city so ruined by Alaricus, that nothing remained of the former beauty, but some reliques of one Gate, and of the pavement. Here I met with this adventure. When fo came with his army into P. the peple were in much confusion. and the women some suddenly fled where they could, others were carried away captives. In this place some woman, newly delivered of a Child, had left it in swathing clouts upon the Ground; whether she ran away, or were taken from it by the Enemy, the never did return, being likely either gone out of Italy, or the World. The child lying in that Defart cryed, and a shee Goat perceiving it, pittied it, and having also lately brought forth young, came to it and gave it her Teate, guarding the child, that no Dog nor wild beast might hurt it. The troubles lasting long in the country, this Infant had long the benefit of this Teat. But the Picenians finding the Emperours army was come against the Goths only, and not to hurt the Romans, returned to their severall homes. And into Urbifalia the women with their husbands coming, and feeing the child, could not imagin what it was, and wondred how it lived: such women as were sit, offered their breasts; but the child would not take womans milk, neither would the Goat leave it; but importunatly bleated, and feemed to be greived at the womens troubling it, and in a word pretended to it her own. So that the women let it alone, and the Goat nursed it; for which the people called the child Agifthus. I travelling that way, they brought me to it, and anger'd it to make it cry; the Goat hearing it, being a stones cast off, ran to it bleating, and stood over it that none might hurt it. and this is the story of £gif-

# CHAP. XV.

But Belifarius marcht by the mountaines, resolving not to come to a direct battell, being much inseriour in numbers, and the Goths desperate with their missioners. But he thought that when they heard of Forces invading on every side, they would not resist, but run away; and he guest as it fell out. For being upon the Mountaines a dayes journey from Ariminum, he lighted upon Goths travelling about businesse; who being suddenly surprized, could not turne out of the way, but were some slain by the Romans, and the rest wounded ran up, and hid them in the rocks: from whence seeing the Romans marching many together in narrow passages, they judged them far more then they were, and perceiving the Ensign of Belisarius, they knew that he led them. The night overtaking, the Romans stayed there, and the Goths hurt men run to Vitigis Camp; whether being arrived about noon the next day, they shewed their wounds, and reported Belisarius to be at hand with an innumerable army. Hereupon they prepared to sight; marching to the North of Ariminum (which way they thought the Enemy would come) and still looking to the mountain tops. At night having put off their armes, and tak-

ing their rest, they saw fires some seven miles from the City Eastward, kindled by Martinus. They fell into terrible fear, apprehending in the morning to be furroun. ded by the Enemy; and so lay still that night in that fear. And by Sun rising they faw a great fleet coming, which even firucs them dumb; that with tumult and clamouring they truis'd up, harkning to no commands, nor thinking upon any thing but how to get quit of the camp, and within the walls of Ravenna. It the befieged had had any strength or courage left, they had cut the Enemy in peices, and made an end of the war; but they were heartlesse with their miseries, and feeble with want of food. The Goths in that confusion left much of their baggage behind, and ran amain to Ravenna Ildiger with his forces first seized the Enemies trenches, tooke the baggage they left there, and some sick men At noon Relifarius came with the army, and feeing fohn and his company pale, and greivously nasty, he faid, he must give thanks to Ilaiger, glancing at his unadvifed prefumption. He answered that he acknowledged none to Ildiger, but to Narfes the Emperours Treasurer; intimating that Belifarius did not willingly releive him, but perswaded by Narses; both these were ever after jealous of each other: That Narfes freinds would not let him "march with Belifarius, fur gesting how poor it was for him who communicated of "the Emperours fecrets, not to be an absolute commander, but to obey one that was "but a Generall; and that Belifarius would never indure to command with him in E-" quality, but that if he would himself lead an army, he should have more Souldiers & "better captaines to follow him; the Hernlians, and his own Lanciers and Targetiers, "and the troops under fustinus and John himself, with those of Narses and Aratins, "being not leffe in all then 10000 valiant men and able Souldiers. That they would "not have the conquelt of Italy wholly attributed to Belifarius, but Narfes to " share in it, who had not left his attendance on the Emperours person, to estab-"lish with his own dangers the Glory of Belifarins; but by shewing his own valour "and wildome to grow famous in the world; and that Belifarins without him "could do nothing; most of the army commanded by him being dispersed in the " places he had taken. All which they reckoned up from Sicily to Picenia. Narfes was much pleased with these discourses, and could not contain himself within his prefent condition: but Belifaring directing him any businesse, still he slew to some excuse, rejecting his commands. Which Belisarius observing, he affembled the Com-"manders, and spake thus. Fellow commanders, I find not my self to be of the same "opinion with you concerning this War. You despise the Enemy, as absolutely sub-"dued; but I thinke this confidence will bring you into danger; knowing that the "Goths have not been beaten through their cowardice, or want of men, but over-"fratagem'd with counsell and forelight, and so routed. And you in like fort I feat "from some false opinion may receive a blow, which may undo your selves and the "Roman affaires. They are more easily undone, who are infolent with successes and "conceit of victory; then such as having lost some honour, do for the time to come " use feare and caution towards their Enemies. Carelesnesse hath ruined many "well fetled, and a folicitous labour releived men after mil-fortunes: the "powers of the negligent lessening of themselves, but care naturally adding powers. Consider that Vitigis is in Ravenna with many thousands, That Vrass befieges Millan, and holds all Liguria; That in Auximum is a great and gallant ar-"my; and that there are other garrisons of Goths able to fight with us, all along " to Urbiventum, which is a neighbour to Rome. That if we should now be compassed by the Enemy, our danger were more then ever. The Francks also are said to be in armes in Liguria, which every Roman ought to consider and apprehend. "My opinion therefore is, that part of the army be sent into Liguria and Millan, "and all the rest to march against Auximum, and undertake as God shall enable, " and as shall seem best and most advantagious. To this speech of Belifarius, Nar-"fes replied. Noble Generall, in all the rest (being nothing but truth) none can "contradict you; but that all the rest of the Emperours army should be confined to Auximum and Millan, I hold it inconvenient; for you to lead such of the army "as you please for those purposes, is good reason: In the mean time we will get "f Emilia for the Emperour, a Province most set by by the Goths; and we will give " fuch alarmes to Ravenna, that you shall bring the Enemy on your part to what "tearmes you please, being excluded from hope of succours. I fear if we sit down before

†LombardCispadana, from the city of Aft to Parma vid. Leanurum. "before Auximum together, the Goths will fet on us from Ravenna, and we shall be charged on both sides, and wanting Victuall perish upon the place. Belisarius fearing least by dividing the Forces, the Emperours Assaires might sall assunder, and ruine by the disorder arising from thence; produced the Emperours Letters directed to the Commanders in these words. "We have sent Narses our Treassurer in the Italy, not to command the Army; it being our pleasure that Belisarius alone shall have the leading thereof, whethersoever himselfe thinks best; and it behoves you all to follow him for the good of our State. Narses took hold of the last words of this Letter; and said, that Belisarius did now advise against the good of the State, and therefore they were not bound to follow him.

# CHAP. XV.

Elisarius upon this sent Peranius with an Army to beseige Urbiventum; Himfelse led the rest to Urbinum, a strong Town, a daies journey from Ariminum, which had a good Garriton of Goths within it: Narfes and John followed him, but before the Town they encamped severally at the foot of the Hill, Beli-Sarins on the East side, & Narses on the West. Urbinum stands upon a round high Hill, not craggy, but unfafe to mount, only for the steepnesse, and neernesse to the City. Towards the North is an entrance upon plain ground. Belifarius ( the Army being thus quartered ) fent Ambassadours to the Goths, hoping to bring them (being affraid) to a composition; and promising many advantages by their submission to the Emperour. The Ambassadours at the Gates (being not admitted into the Town) used many allurements; but the Goths presuming upon the strength of the place, and their aboundance of Provisions, rejected them and their motions. Belifarius upon this caused the Army to gather Poles, and with them to make a Gallery for men, to approach the Gates and Walls under this covert. Some Friends of Narses told him that Belisarius laboured in vain, (John having attempted the place when the Garrison was small, and found it impregnable) therefore he should take in the Emperours Townes in Emilia. Narfes upon this advile rose that night (though much wooed by Belisarius to stay and help to take Urbinum) and went to Ariminum with the rest of the Army. Morras and the Goths under him, in the morning feeing halfe the Army gone, flouted from their Walls at those that staid behind. But Belisarius with them resolved, to asfault, and confulting about it, he had strange Successe. The only Fountain in Urbinum which watred all the Inhabitants, grew dry of it felfe, and in three daies fo failed, that the Goths drunk the water with mud, whereupon they determined to yeild: whereof Belifarins not knowing, put the Army in readinesse to assault round about the Hill, and commanded to bring on the wooden Gallery upon the even ground. The men within unseen by the Enemy brought the same on, at which the Goths held out their hands, crying for peace. The Romans knowing nothing of the Fountain, conceived that it was the Fight they feared, which they gladly forbare: And the Goths rendred themselves, and Town to Belisarius, up-on composition of indemnity, they becoming Subjects to the Emperour, & serving in the Army with equal conditions. Narses wondred to heare the Newes, and took it for a misfortune. He lay still in Ariminum, but commanded John with the Army to lead out against Cefina. They approach the Castle with their scaling Ladders upon their backs, & affaulted; But the Goths defended foutly, and Phanotheus Leader of the Herulians was flain, and many more, so that John would attempt it no more, seeming impregnable, but marcht on with fustinus, and the rest of the Army, and took an ancient City, named Forum Cornely, by furprife: And he recovered all Emilia; the Goths avoiding still to fight with him. Belifarius also having taken in *Orbinum*, thought it not expedient (being at the Winter Tropick) to go against *Auximum*, expecting a long Seige of it, the place being strong, and impossible to be forced, by reason the *Goths* within it were many, and of the best, who having forraged much Country, had brought in great quantity of Provilions, so that he appointed Aratins to winter in Firmum, and to restrain the Goths

Goths incursions, and to spoile the Country; and himselfe marcht against Orbiventum, perswaded by Peranius, who had learnt of run awaies, that the Goths within wanted Victuall; and that it was thought, they would yelld upon sight of Belisarius Army, which came so to passe. Belisarius quartered his Army before it, and himselfe went round, and viewed the Town, and sound it not possible to be taken by force, but he thought by some plot it might be faisable. Orbiventum is built upon a Hill, standing alone in a Valley, and being plain at the top, and towards the bottome craggy. About it, a stones cast off are many Rocks, and the Town hath no Walls, nor other Fortification, Nature having made it impregnable; in regard there is but one way to it between those Rocks: which being guarded, the Townes-men seare no invasion at any other part. And where the way into the Town is, a large River unfordable takes up all the space between the Hill and those Rocks. So that there is only a small Fortification at the said passage, and a Gate to it, which the Goths guarded.

# CHAP. XVI.

Belifarius begirt the Town with his Army, hoping to incommode the Enemy from the River, and to take them by Famine. The Gaths for a while were in no absolute wants, and though furnished very barely, yet they indured beyond expectation, having not Food to satisfie, but to keep alive only; and their Provisions being failed, they fed upon Hides, and Skins soaked in water, and upon vain hopes, which Albilas their Commander gave them,

a man of great Reputation with the Goths.

The Summer being come, the Corn in all those parts grew of it selfe, but not in fuch quantity as formerly; being not covered under Furrowes by the Plow and Harrow; but lying upon the Face of the Land, which could yelld fo but small Crop: And none being to reap it, much shed, and never grew again. The same happened in Emilia, that the Inhabitants went all into Picenia, which being up-on the Sea, they thought the Famine not to be so much there: Which seised alfo upon Tuscany; but there the Mountainers grinded Acornes, and made bread, which bredall kind of Diseases in many; but some recovered and lived. But in Picenia 50000. Roman Husbandmen at least perished, and more on this side the Ponian Gulfe. I have seen their Countenances, and manner of deaths. They grew lanck, and pale, the Flesh wanting Food (according to the old saying) feeding on it selfe; Choler prevailing spred a wan Complexion over their Bodies: And as the Disease grew, all moisture for sook them; the Skin was hard like a tanned Hide, and lookt as if it cleft to the bones; afterwards they became black-coloured, and like Lincks much burnt. Their Countenance were hideous, like mad-men; and as most dyed for want of Sustenance, so some with greedy feeding: whose heat being quenched within, if they were nourished to satisfaction, and not by little, and little, like Babes new born, being not able to digest the meat, they dyed. Some forced by the Famine fed upon one another. Two Women in a Village beyond Ariminum were reported to have eaten 17 men, they onely were left alive in the place, and so Passengers lodged in their Cottage, whom they killed sleeping, and eat them. As they were attempting the like upon the 18. he waked, and finding out the truth, killed them both. Many being pincht with this Famine, went where there was Graffe, and stooping to gather it, but being not strong enough to pull it up, they fell upon their hands, and dyed with the Graffe in their mouths. None buried any, nor had the least thought of Funeralls: The very ravenous Fowles, that feed on dead bodies, would not touch them, there being no flesh lest to allure them, which the Famine had confumed all. So grievous was that Famine.

But Belisarius sent Martinus and Vliaris with an Army against Vrbias and the Goths, whom he heard to besiege Millan. They encamped and stayd upon the Poe a dayes journey from Millan, and spent much time in consulting about their passage over the River. Which Mundilas understanding, sent one Paulus a Roman to them; who slipt by the Enemy and sinding no Boats upon the Poe stript himselfe.

and in great danger swam over the River. Coming to the Roman Campe he told the "Commanders Martinus and Uliaris, that they did unjustly, and not besitting "their reputations, to come there in pretence to serve the Emperour, but in effect to augment the Goths power. That Millan, the cheife of the Italian Cities for bignesse, wealth, and populousnesse, being a Bulwark for the whole Roman Empire against the Germans, and other Barbarians, is now in perill with Mundilas and the Emperours Forces, and yet by them neglected. The wrong they did the Emperour, he would forbeare to aggravate, time not allowing many words, but demanding speedy succour, whilst yet some hope is lest. That therefore they must instantly releive Millan; if they delayed it, Our fortunes (quoth he) will be after the bitterest sufferings to perish, and yours, to betray the Emperours Soul-diers to the Enemy. Seeing such are justly sayd to betray, not onely who open their Gates to an Enemy, but who having meanes to rescue their best Freinds be-seiged, by preferring a backward security before hazarding, abandon them to the Enemy. Paulus spake in that fort, and Martinus and Uliaris promised him to follow immediately, and so sent him away; who entred Millan by night, revived the Souldiers and other Romans, and made them yet more cheerfull in their Faith to the Emperour.

# CHAP, XVII,

UT still the Troops with Martinus were backward, and lay still, and so continued long. Martinus to put the blame from himselse, wrote thus to Belisarius: "You sent us out to releive our distressed Freinds in Millan: "we have used our best diligence, and are as farr as the River of Poe; which "the Army feares to passe, hearing that in Liguria is a great Army of Goths, and "a multitude of Burgundians; with whom we conceive our selves not able to fight. "Command therefore John and Justinus (who are our neighbours in Emilia) to "joyne their Troops with us in this adventure; whereby we shall be safe our selves, and doe some hurt to the Enemy. Belisarius upon receite of this Letter, commanded John and Justinus immediately to joyne with Martinus for Millan. They refused, unlesse Narses directed them; whereupon Belisarius wrote thus to Narses: "Confider how the Emperours Army is one body: If ( as members in bodies) you be not all of a minde, but will be doing one without anothers concurrence; in "the end (having done nothing you should) you will all perish. Wherefore leave "Emilia, which hath no strong place in it, and for present is not of any impor-"tance to us; and command John and Justinus immediately to march with Marti-"nus against the Enemy before Millan, whose Troops are neer the same, and well "furnisht to vanquish the Barbarians. From hence it is not convenient to send For-"ces thither, much time will be spent in the march, that they will come after the "feason; and being come, they will not be able to use their Horses in a fight after " fo long a journey. But those, and Martinus and Uliaris marching to Millan, in "likely hood will beat the Goths, and then againe fubdue Emilia, none being to oppose them. Narses after perusall of this Letter, wrote to John and Justinus to march to Millan accordingly. John afterwards was sent to the Sea-coast, to get Barks for transporting the Army over the Poe; but a sicknesse hindred his businesse. In the mean time of this backwardnesse of Martinus Troops, and Johns staying for Narses his Orders, the Besieged became infinitely distressed with Famine. The extremity constrained them to feed on Dogs, Rats, Mice, and such uncouth creatures. The Goths fent to Mundilas to render the City, offering Indempnity to himselfe, and the Souldiers. He accepted, so they would give assurances of performance, and not use hard measure to the Inhabitants. When the Enemy had given assurances to Mundilas and the Souldiers, but being angry with the Ligurians, appeared resolved to destroy them; he called the Souldiers and spake thus. If ever men have chosen to dye honourably when they might have lived basely, such would I have you now to be, and not for love of breath to live in difgrace; the rather being of the Schoole Hh 2

Schoole of Belifarius, where you have learnt so plentifully, that it were impi-ous not to be generous, and extreamly daring. To all men that come into this "light, one face is appointed, in their due time to dye. But in the manner of their " deaths men are dillinguished; Cowards first becoming the scorn and laughter "of their Foes, fulfill their deftiny too in their defined times. But generous men " fuffer the same with Virtue, and an advantage of Honour. If by becoming Slaves "to the Barbarians we could preserve this People, our base preservation would "have an excuse; but for us to behold so many Romans destroyed by the Enemy, "is more bitter then any death; for we shall seem even to have helpt the Goths "to act this Calamity. Whilft therefore we are yet Mafters of our felves, and can beare necessity with Virtue, let us make this our hard Fortune, our Glory. "My Opinion is, to arme our felves compleatly, and to fally upon the Enemy " not looking for us . We shall gain one of these two; either Fortune to do some." "thing for us, or elfe an honourable riddance of our miferies, by a happy death "beyond our hopes. The Souldiers for all these words of Mundilas would not hazard, but yeilded themselves and the City upon the Conditions offered. Them the Goths hurt not, but made Prisoners with Mundilas, but the City they demolisht to the Ground, killing men of all ages, 300000. at least. The Women they made Slaves, and gave to the Burgundians, to gratifie their joyning with them. Finding there Reparatus, Prafect of the Palace, they cut him in peeces, and threw them to the Dogs. Vergentinus, who was then in Millan, went into Dalmatia with his Troops through † Venetia, and other Countries, and from thence brought the newes to the Emperour, of the Romans Dilaster at Millan. The Goths also took other Townes by composition from the Roman Garrisons, and quickly subdued all Liguria. And Martinus and Uliaris returned towards Rome with their Army.

This is now Marca Trivigiana, fatth Leander.

# CHAP. XVIII.

Belisarius heard nothing of these Occurrents in Liguria, but the Winter being ended, he marcht with his Army into Picenia: In which Journey he understood to his great griefe what was become of Millan. Uliaris he suffered not to come into his sight, and wrote the whole matter to the Emperour, who punisht no man; but hearing of the differences between Belisarius and Narses, he sent for Narses home, and appointed Belisarius absolutely to command all the Army. Narses went to Constantinople with some sew Souldiers; And being gone, the Herulians would in Italy, though Belisarius in his own name and the Emperours made them large promises. They first went into Liguria, where meeting with Ureas his Army, they sold their Slaves, and Cattell they had, and for a Sum of money given them, sware never to take Armes against the Goths, and so peaceably they came into Venetia; where having speech with Vitalius, they repented of their Errour against the Emperour, and to expiate the same, less Visandus there, and his Troops. The rest came to Constantinople, conducted by Alneth, and Philimuth, who was chiefe; Phanotheus being dead in his Tent.

But Vitigis hearing that in the beginning of the Spring Belifarius would come against him, and the Goths in Ravenna, they were all affraid, and consulted what to do; and finding upon debate themselves alone not able to match the Enemy, they resolved to draw in the aid of other Barbarians. Of the Germans they were shy, having already had experience of their unfaithfulnesse, being contented they should continue neutrall, not joyning with Belisarius. But to Vacis King of the Lombards they sent Ambassadours and large Sums for aide; but he being a Friend, and Auxiliary of the Emperour, they returned without doing any thing. So that Vitigus, in much perplexity, demanded the advise of ancient men, what was to be done to repaire his Assaires. After many Opinions of his Counsell, some unseasonable, some worthy of consideration, it was said; "That the Roman Emperour could not invade the Barbarians of the West, before he had made truce with the Persians. Then the Vandales, and Moores were ruined, and these

"things now befell the Goths. If the King of Persia might be put into a quarrell "with Instinian, the Romans in war with that Nation could maintain none else-"where. Vitigis liked the Counsell, & resolved to send Ambassadours, who were not Goths, to set Chosroes, King of Persia, at variance with fustinian (for feare of "discovering, and spoyling of the negotiation. ) But they perswaded two Priests " of Liguria with money to undertake the Service. One of them taking upon him the shew and name of a Bishop, was the Ambassadour, and the other went as his attendant. To these Vitigis gave his Letters to Chofrees, who being therewith moved, did those mischieses to the Romans during the Truce I formerly, related. And the Emperour, fo foon as he found the Persians plotting those milchiefes, thought good to end the War in the West : He sent therefore for Belifarius to go against the Persian, and he dispatcht Vitigis Ambassadours, (who yet were at Constantinople) with promise to send some to Ravenna, to conclude a Truce with the Goths, as should be expedient for both parts. But Belifarius made flay of the Enemies Ambaffadours, untill they also fent home Athanasius and Peter, who went to Constantinople, and were highly rewarded Athanasim the Emperour made Prafett of the Palace in Italy, and Peter, Captain of the Emperours Guard. And thus the Winter ended, and the fourth yeare of this War, written by Proco-

Belilarins resolved first to get Auximum and Fasula, and then no Enemy being in his way, nor to be at his back, to set upon Visigis and Ravenna. Unto Fasula he sent Cyprian and Infinus with their own Troops, and some Isanrians, and soo. Foot under Demetrius; these beseiged the Goths in that Castle. Towards the Poe he sent Martinus and John Phagas with their own Troops, and other Forces, commanded by that John; whom he directed, in case Vras with his Forces came towards them out of Millan, by any meanes to get the Reare of them, and to sollow at their backs. These taking Dorshon, a Town unwalled upon the River,

there encamped.

# CHAP XIX.

Elisarius himselfe with eleven thousand men came before Auximum; which is the Metropolis of Picenia. It stands ten miles and a halfe from the shore of the Jonian Gulfe, and from Ravenna three dayes journey, and ten miles more, upon a high Hill, with no entrance in any plaine ground, and fo not approachable by an Enemy. Vitigis had Garrisoned in it the choisest Gaths, suppoling that the Romans, milling this Towne, would not dare to invade Ravenna. Belifarius encamped his Army round about the bottome of the Hill, divided and lodged in severall quarters. The Goths seeing them thus severed, and not likely in a great Campagnia to succour one another, charged them about evening from the East side of the Towne, where Belisarius Quarter was with his Lanciers and Targetiers: who opposed the Invaders, and soon routed them; and pursuing got up to the midst of the Hill; where the Barbarians trusting to the advantage of the place, turned head against them, killed many, shooting apon their heads, till the night prevented them. The day before this skirmish, some Gorhs being sent out early to get Provisions, were returning by night; and feeing the Romans fires, stood amazed. Many adventured and got into Auximum unfeen by the Romans, others of them hid themselves in the Woods, thinking to goe to Ravenna, but were surprized, and all cut in peices. Belifarius finding Auximum strong, and no meanes to affault it, despaired to take it by force, but hoped by a close Siege to reduce them to wants, and in time to subdue them. The store of Graffe neer the Walls was occasion of dayly skirmishes: The Romans seeing the Goths cut the same for their Horses, ran up the Hill, fought with them gallantly still, hindred their carrying a-way the Grasse, and killed many of them. The Barbarians overmatcht by their Enemies valour, did thus. They took the Wheels and Axeltrees off their Waggons, and (their men beginning to cut Grasse) they rolled them downe upon the Romans, when they were ascended the middle of the Hill; but they went to the botIncipit.

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tome

tome without touching a man. The Goths failing herein, ran into the Towne. Afterward they layd an ambush of their best men in Vallies neer the town; then some few appeared about the Graffe plot, and when the fight was come to Sword and Lance, they rose from their ambush, and having the advantage much in numbers, and amazing the Romans being unlook t for, they, killed many, and put the rest to slight. The Romans in the quarters saw the Enemy rise from their ambush, and cryed loud to their companions to retire, but were not heard, being divided from them the whole length of the hill, and the Barbarians clashing their armes to drown their cryes. Belisarius was troubled at it, and Procopius, the writer of this History, came to him, and fayd. "Noble Generall, Anciently the Roman Trumpeters were "skilfull in two tunes, one composed to incourage the Souldiers to fight, the other "to found a retreat, when the Generall faw his time: Who by this means fignified "his pleasure, and the Souldiers put it in Execution. For in a battell to doe it by " shouting is impossible; the fright of it amazing, and the clashing of armes over-"coming the noise. But now rudenesse hath bereft us of this skill, and we cannot "fignifie both with one Trumpet: wherefore do you thus. Let the horsemens trumpets incourage the Souldiers to fight, and let those of the foot call them to the retreat; they cannot but distinguish the found, the one being made of Leather, and "very thin wood, and the other of a thick peice of Brasse. Belisarius liked Pricopius, advise, and calling the army, spake thus. "Courage and forwardnesse is expedient and commendable to far as it is moderate, and burts not them who use it all and commendable so far as it is moderate, and hurts not them who use it; all things becoming ever worse with Excesse. Commit therefore no more of these 'Errors through vain ambition; to fly sometime is no shame, and who unadvisedly " runs into evident mischeif, if he chance to escape, yet is he guilty of Folly. The gal-"lant man is he, that fights valiantly in time of need. The Goths now unable to fight "with you, indeavour to ruin you with ambushes; and you are more to be blamed for 'standing the danger, then if you had run out of their ambush; nothing being baser, then to serve an Enemies Counsells. I will be carefull to prevent your falling into "ambushes; and you, when I give the signall, presently retire, which shall be done by the found of the foot Trumpets. The Souldiers after this speech, seeing the Enemy at the Graffe, went towards them, and at first killed some. A Moore espying one of them with Gold Ornaments, ook him by the hair, and drew him aside to strip him; but a Goth hit him through both the calves of his legs with a dart, and so fettered them both together, yet still he drew the dead body, holding it by the Hair. In this instant the Goths rose from their ambush, and immediatly Belisarins seeing all from the camp, caused the foot Trumpets to found, which the Romans hearing, retired gently, taking up the Moore with the Dart through his leggs. The Goths durst not follow them, but retired too. Afterward the Goths considered how they might advertise Vitigis of their wants, which grew great, and none adventuring to go, as thinking it impossible to slip by the Enemy, they observed a night without moon light, and preparing their men with Letters to Vitigit, when the night was far spent, they made great cries upon the walls, as if they were in some terrible confusion, prest by Enemies, and their town suddenly taken. The Romans could not imagine the cause, and kept within their quarters by Belisarius's direction, fearing a furprize from the Town, and from some army from Ravenna, which might be come to the Enemies succour; and so thought better to lye still in a safe place, then in a dark night to run into danger: Whereby the Goths fent out their men unespied to Ravenna; who the third day, without meeting Enemy, delivered the Letters to Vitigis, to this Effect.

"When your Majesty placed us in Auximum, you said, that in our hands you "left the keyes of Ravenna, and of your Kingdom, and you therefore summoned our "uttermost power to conserve the dominion of the Goths, and if we needed it, you promised to come to us unsent for with your whole army. We have sought with Famin and Belisarius, and been saithfull Guards of your Kingdome; but you have not thought meet to succour us at all. Think if the Romans take Auximum, and the keyes which lye here by you forgotten, whether they will be kept out of any thing you have. Virigis, upon perusall hereof, promised forthwith to succour Auximum with his whole forces, and dismiss the men: But upon better consideration he lay still, doubting least the troops with John might fall upon his back, and be-

fore him fearing a great power of resolute men with Belisarius; but principally want of victuall troubled him, not knowing from whence to surnish his army, in regard the Romans were masters of the Sea, and transporting their provisions from Sicily and Calabria, to the Castle of Ancona, from thence had it brought with ease in the due season; but the Goths in Picenia should have no means of supply. But the Messengers came safe to Auximum with Vitigis promise, which raised them with vain hope. And Belisarius hearing thereof, caused the Guards to be more strictly

In the mean time Cyprian and Instinus, besieging Fasula, could not approach to assault the place; and the Goths willing rather to end it by fights, then to indure the want of victuall, sallied often. At first the fights were equall, in the end the Romans being too hard for them, shut them within their walls; keeping exact watch that none might get out. In Auximum the Goths perplexed with their wants, sent out again to Vitigis for succour, as unable to hold out any longer. He directed Vreas with the army in Ligaria to march into Picenia; promising also to come to the besieged with his whole power. Vreas went into Picenia accordingly, with the army with him; pass't the Poe, and came neer the Romans Camp, and sate down about 7 miles distant from them. They began no fights, the Romans thinking it enough to keep them from joyning with the besieged. And the Goths were afraid to fight, considering if they should lose the battell, they should ruin all; being to have no more means of joyning with Vitigis, and with him of opposing the Enemy: with these counsels they both lay still.

# CHAP. XX.

N the mean time the Francks hearing how both the Goths and Romans were wasted with this war, conceived it easy to get a good share of Italy, and repined to fit idle thus, and look upon others, disputing a province so neer neighbourin g. So that forgetting their late oathes and accords both with Romans and Goths (for this nation of all men is the most slippery of Faith) with an army of 50000 men under the leading of Theodebert, they invaded Italy. They had some few horse men, Lanciers, to attend their King. The rest were foot men, without bowes or Lances, only wearing a sword, a sheild, and a battell axe; the iron whereof was broad and sharp on both sides, and the handle very short; This upon a signall at the first charge they throw from them, to break the Enemies sheilds and kill them. Thus the Francks, passing the Alpes which divide Gaule and Italy, came into Liguria. The Goths were before angry for their not accepting their offers of a large country, and great summes to aid them; but now hearing Theodebert was come with a mighty army, they rejoyced; and hoped to beat their Enemy now without striking stroake. And the Francks, while they were in Liguria, hurt not the Goths, that they might find no impediment in their passage over the Poe; and at a Town in Picenia, where was an ancient bridge over the River, the Garrison supplyed them, them at their pleasure passe the Poe. But the Francks being masters of the Bridge, fuch women and children as they found, they facrificed, and threw into the River as the first spoiles of the War, † retaining yet (though Christians) much of the old religion, & using sacrifices, and other ungodly Rites in making their predictions. The Goths seeing it, in a great fear sled into the town, and the Francks being past, marcht towards the Goths Camp: Who at first seeing them in small troops, were glad of their coming, thinking it to be to aid them. But when numbers came on, and fell to the businesse, and darting their Battle axes hurt many, they turn'd about, and ran away by the Romans camp into Ravenna. The Romans seeing them flye, thought that Belisarius had vanquisht them in fight, and taken their camp from them; and they took armes, thinking to joyne with him in the pursuit; but they found an Enemy unlook't for, and unwillingly they fought, till being beaten, and not able to return to their camp, they fled into Tuscany, and sent Newes of the accident to Belifarius. The Francks having conquered both parts, and taken their Camps without any men in them; there then found their provisions. But in a while they had no-

† It seems they had Almans with them yet Heathen. See Agathias lib. 1. cap. 3. thing to feed on in a wasted Country, but Oxen, and water of the Poe, no bread at all, and being not able to difgelt the flesh, and abundance of water, they fel into fluxes and dysenteries, which they could not get cured for want of things convenient: So that a third part of them are faid to have so perisht, and being not able to march on, they staid there. Belifarins hearing of this army of Franch, and how the troops of John and Martinus were routed, he was afraid of his army, especially of those before Fasula, who were neerest the Barbarians, and he wrote this Letter to Thecdebert. "Noble Theodehert, for one pretending to virtue, and especially being a King of " fo great a Nation, not to be true of his word, is not Princely; but to violate oaths "and accords reduced into writing, is not fit for the meanest man. Herein you know your felfa Transgreffor; having lately agreed to joyne with us against the Goths; & now not fo much as continuing neutrall, but advisedly having taken armes, and fet "upon us. Put not this affront upon the Emperour, Good Sr. who will revenge it in "the highest kind. It is better for a man to hold his own securely, then by medling with what belongs not to him, to run a danger in that which most concernes him. Theodebert upon this Letter, and being troubled with his present Estate, and reviled by the Germans for letting them dy thus in a defart country to no purpose, rose with the Francks furviving, and made haite home.

### CHAP. XXI.

Evertheleffe Martinus and John came back with their Troops, least the Enemy should set upon the Army before Auximum. Where the Goths hearing nothing of the Franks retreat, but despairing at the delayes from Ravenna, thought once more to importune Vingis, but could not get by the Enemy. Seeing at noon one Burcensius, a Bessian by birth, and a Souldier of Narses the Armenian, standing Sentinell to keepe off the Towne from cutting Graffe; fome came to parley with him, and agreed to give him a great Summe in hand to carry a Letter to Ravenna, and more at his returne with Letters from Vitigis. The man for the Money undertook the service, and presently put it in execution. He brought the Letters fealed up to Vitigis with all speed, which were thus. "You will perceive our estate, by enquiring who is the bearer of this Letter; there "being no meanes for a Goth to get out of the Towne walls; and our best supply "of Victuall is the Graffe that growes about them, which we cannot touch with-"out fighting and loffe of men. To what conclusion this will bring us, you and " the Goths in Ravenna are seriously to consider. Vitigis returned this answer: "My best Freinds in the World! think not I am so dejected, nor come to that degree of basenesse, as through sloth to abandon the Goths affaires; my owne "journey was in readinesse, and Vraas by my direction was coming from Millan "with his Army; but an unexpected invalion of Franks stopt our preparations, "whereof I am not to beare the blame: For things above humane power bestow "this favour on the unfortunate, to make him unblameable; Fortune taking the "whole imputation upon her felfe. But Theodebert being now gone, as we heare, we will shortly, God willing, be with you with our whole Army. And you must "beare your Fortune valiantly, and fuitably to the necessity. Thinke upon the ver-"tue for which we made choice of you to guard Auximum; and respect that gene-"rall opinion held of you by all the Goths, which set you there a Bulwark of Ra-" venna, and of their whole fafety.

Vitigis with this Letter and good store of Money, dispatcht the man: Who coming before Auximum pretended to his Companions a sudden sicknesse, which caused him to goe to a Church neer there for cure; and standing Sentinell where he was wont, he delivered the Letters unseene by the Romans. The reading whereof so raised their Spirits, though oppress with the Famine, that they would not yeild, albeit Belisarius much woed them to it: But having no newes of any Army from Ravenna, and being in extream want of Victuall, againe they sent Burcensins, writing onely, That they were able to struggle with the Famine sive dayes, and no more; who brought them againe a Letter from Vitigis, holding them in suspence

with

with like hopes. The Romans also were weary of this long Siege in a barren defert Countrey, and troubled to fee the Goths not to yeild, though in fo much mifery. Belifarius, therefore fought to take some Enemy alive, from whom he might learne the ground of this obstinacy of the Goths. Valerianus promised to serve him therein; who had in his Troops Slavonians, that used to lye under some Stone or Bush, and to steale Enemies; a thing ordinarily practifed by them by the River Ister, where their dwellings are, both upon Romans and Barbarians. Belifarius liking his way, and committing it to his care, he chose out a Slavonian, a tall lufty fellow, and valiant, and affured him a good reward from Belifarius to get an Enemy alive; and told him, That at the Graffe plat, which the Goths used to eat for want of food, he might doe it with ease. The Slavonian before day-breake, put himselfe neer the Towne walls, concealed in a Bush, and gathering up his feet close about him. By day-light a Goth came out to gather Grasse, suspecting nothing from the Bush; but had his eye upon the Camp, least any enemy might come from thence. The Slavonian stealing behinde him, snatcht him up fast between his armes, & delivered him to Valerianus; who enquiring, from what confidence the Goths being so weake re-fused to yelld, and wilfully endured so much distresse; the Barbarian told him all the story about Burcensins, desiring he might be brought face to face. Burcensins seeing himselfe discovered, concealed nothing; and Belisarius gave him to his Companions to use him as they pleased, who burnt him alive in the sight of the Enemy: And this fruit had Burcensius of his covetousnesse. But Belisarius seeing the Goths still hold out, he had a defigne upon their water, by that way thinking to take them in with most ease and advantage.

# CHAP. XXII.

Here was a Spring-head to the North-ward of Auximum, in a craggy ground, a stones cast from the Town, sending a small stream into a Cistern anciently there built, which being filled from that small stream, supplyed water for the Cicizens. Belifarius thought that if the water were not received into the Cistern, the Goths being plyed with Arrowes, would be long filling their Vessels from so small a stream. To spoile this Cistern, he did thus; he put his Forces in Atmes, and in their orders round about the Town, as if he would make a generall Affault; The Goths fearing the fame, stood upon the Battlements, to oppose the Enemy. In the mean time Belisarius brought to the Cittern five Isakrians, covered under a multitude of Shields, skilfull in Masonry, with Axes, and other Instruments to cut stones, commanding them to break down the sides of the Ciftern. The Goths thinking they came to approach the Walls, kept quiet; that being neerer they might shoot at them with more advantage, not imagining the businesse. But seeing the Isaurians within the Cistern, they plyed them with Arrowes, and stones; The rest ran back, and the five Isanrians being under in safety, fell to work; there being an Arch over the water for shade, under which they made no account of the Enemies shot, though it came thick. The Goths opening the Gate there, fallied furiously upon the Isaurians, and the Romans encountred them, where was a hot fight long, and body to body, and much flaughter on both fides. The Romans fell thicker, the Goths having the advantage of the upper ground; but the Romans gave not back, Belifarius being present, and with loud shouts encouraging them: When from the Enemy came an Arrow whizzing towards the Generals belly, whether shot by chance, or purposely: Belisarius seeing it not, could not ward nor shun it; but Unigatus, one of his Life-guard, perceiving the Arrow coming almost to his belly, put his right hand between, and saved the Generals life; and being himfelfe wounded with it, and in extremity of pain, he retired: His Sinewes were afterwards cut asunder, and he lost the use of his hand. The Fight beginning in the morning ended at noon, where seven Armenians of the Troops of Narses, and Aratius, shewed great deeds of Valour; running up the steep Hill, and upon the plain killed all that stood them, untill they had routed the Goths in that part. And the Romans feeing the Enemy give ground, fell to Execution, and the Defeat being cleer, the Goths got within their Walls. The Romans thought the Ciftern to be downe, and the Isaurians to have dispatcht their work; but they could not force one stone out of it. The ancient Artists, above all; carefull of their Credits, had so wrought this building, that it would not yelld to time, nor the attemps of men; wherefore the Isaurians, seeing the Romans masters of the Feild, came out of the Ciftern, and retired to the Camp. Hereupon Belisarians caused the Souldiers to throw dead bodies of Beasts, and poysonous Herbs into the water, and to quench burning Lime in it; that the Goths having but one Well within the Walls, with little water in it, were much scanted. Neither did Belisarians use any more force or designes against the Town, hoping by Famine only to have his will of the Enemy; and therefore he attended earnestly to his Guards and Sentinels. The Goths also in their great wants were quiet, expecting an Army from Ravenna.

In Fastala the Beseiged endured fore Famine, and much misery, and having no hope from Ravenna, they resolved to yeild: And coming to a Parly with Cyprian and Instinus, and taking affurance for their lives, they rendred themselves and the Castle. Cyprian brought them and the Roman Army before Auximum, leaving a Garrison in Fasula. Belisarius shewed their Leaders to the Goths in Auximum, bidding them leave their Opiniativenesse, and hopes from Ravenna, from whence receiving no good, but being more ruined daily, they will at last come to the same Fortune with those of Fasula. They considered of it, and being unable to stold out longer against the Famine, they embraced the Proposition, and rendred the City upon conditions of indemnity the city upon city upon conditions of indemnity the city upon conditions of indemnity the city upon city the City upon conditions of indemnity to themselves, and to go with their Goods to Ravenna. Belisarins was in some doubt to suffer so many brave men to joyne with those in Ravenna; but he would not lose the opportunity of marching thither against Vitigis, while Affaires was yet in suspence, and the Francks expected to come with fuccours to the Goths; whose coming though he would willingly prevent, yet he would not raise the Seige of Anximum, before it were taken. But the Souldiers opposed the Goths having their Goods, shewing their wounds, and recounting their toiles in the Seige, whereof they alledged the spoiles of the Conquered to be the due Prizes. In the end forced by the preffing opportunity, and the Goths compelled by the Famine, they came to this accord; That the Romans should have halfe the Goods, and the Goths with the other halfe be subject to the Emperour: And upon this they gave Oath, the Roman Commanders to observe the Agreement, and the Goths not to conceale any of their Goods. So they shared the Goods, and the Romans had Auximum, and the Goths were mingled with the Army.

# CHAP. XXIII.

Belisarius having taken Auximum, made hast to Ravenna with his whole Army; He sent Magnus before with competent numbers, to skirt the Bancks of Poe, and prevent the transporting of Provisions into Ravenna that way. Vitalius, being come out of Dalmatia with Forces, guarded the other side of the River; a Fortune here befell, which shewed evidently, that she it is who will determine the controverse. For the Goths had sormerly brought down into the Poe many Barks out of Liguria laded with Corn, bound for Ravenna; but the water was grown so low then, that they could not row on; till the Romans coming, surprised the Barks and all the lading. Soon after, the River had the wonted stream and was Navigable again; which never happened so before, that we could heare. And now the Goths began to be scarce of Provisions, importing nothing from the Jonian Gulse (by reason the Enemy was Master of the Sea) and the River being blockt up.

The Kings of the Francks understanding how things went, and desiring to put for Italy, sent Ambassadours to Vitigis with offers of aides, so they might share the Dominion of the Country with him; which Belisarius being advertised of, sent also Ambassadours to dispute it with the Francks, and among others, Thro-

dosins the Steward of his house. The Francks Ambassadours were first heard, and foake thus: " The Kings of the Francks have fent us hither, forry to heare that you are distressed by Belisarius, and ready according to their League to avenge you. There is an Army passed the Alpes, of 500000. men, who at their very first "Encounter will over-whelme the Roman Army with their battle Axes. Hearken not therefore to their Counsell, who would make you Slaves, but to theirs rather who in their Affection to you embrace the hazards of a War; And the "rather, because joyning with us, the Romans cannot hope to match both our "powers, but we shall with ease have the Victory. Whereas if you joyne with "the Romans, yet shall they not be able to stand against the Francks, ( the Bat-"tell even then being not to be with equall powers ) and you will be vanquished "in the company of your greatest Foes. To run therefore into so evident mischiefe, "having meanes to be preserved without hazard, is extreamest folly. The Romans "are not faithfull to any Barbarians, but naturally Enemies to them. But we (if you like it ) will share with you the Dominion of Italy, and divide the Country "as we shall both think best. Make choice therefore of what is most expedient for you. The Francks having done, the Ambassadours of Belisarius spake thus: 'That the Francks multitudes shall not hurt the Emperours Army, as these men would fright us, what needs a long Speech to you, whose experience hath learnt "all the moments of War? and that Valour is not vanquisht with multitudes." "The Emperour can more then any, (if he please) exceed his Enemy in numbers. The faithfulnesse of these men to all Barbarians, we know, and themselves have shewed it to the Thuringians, Burgundians, and to you their Allies: So that we would gladly ask, by what God they mean to sweare for the pledge of their Faith. How they have respected him by whom they have already sworn, you know; who coming as Friends to aide you, did not only not joyne in the "danger; but impudently took Armes against you; if you remember what they "did at the Poe. What need we, by repeating things past, convince the Francks im-"piety? Can any thing be more detestable then this their Ambassage? as if they "had forgotten former Treaties; now they pretend their aides to be better then "other mens; but if they obtain the Goths to mingle with their Armies once, what "will be the period or their infatiable desires, were good to consider. Belifarins Ambassadours having thus spoken, Vitigis after long conference with the principall Goths, chose an Accord with the Emperour, and dismist the Francks with de-

From hence forward the Romans and Goths fent Ambassadours to each other: But still Belisarius set Guards to hinder importation of Provisions; and he employed Vitalius to take in Townes in Venetia, and himselfe with Ildeger guarded both sides of the Poe, to draw thus the Goths to yeild to him upon his own tearmes for want of Victuall. Hearing how there was much Corn in the publick Magazines of Ravenna, he won a Citizen with money to set them all on fire; which losse (some say) happened by Mattasuntha's advise, the Wife of Vitigis. It was so suddenly done, that some thought it was by lightning, as others by designe, and Vitigis and the Goths taking it in either kind, sell into more irresolution, neither trusting one another, and thinking God himselfe made War against them.

In the Alpes also which divide Ganle and Liguria, (called Alpes Cottia) are many Castles, whereof many principall Goths have the Guard, having long dwelt there with their wives and children. Belisarius desirous to reduce them, sent Thomas thither, one of his retinue, with some sew, to give Faith, and receive the Goths upon composition, whom Sisigs commander of all those Garrisons received into a Castle, and with himself brought in all the rest. In the mean time Uraas with 4000 choice men out of Liguria, and those Castles, was marching to succour Ravenna: These hearing what Sisigis had done, and afraid of their own Estates, with Uraas went first to these Cottian Alpes, and besieged Sisigis and Thomas. John Vitalianus hearing of it, and Martinus (being then about the Poe) came to their succour with their forces, and some of the Castles they surprized, and made the Inhabitants slaves, and among them many wives and Children of Uraas souldiers, who from those Castles had followed him; but hearing now how their own Estates were ran-

thought the Ciftern to be downe, and the Is aurians to have dispatcht their work; but they could not force one thone out of it. The ancient Artists, above all, carefull of their Credits, had so wrought this building, that it would not yeild to time, nor the attemps of men; wherefore the Isaurians, seeing the Romans masters of the Feild, came out of the Ciftern, and retired to the Camp. Hereupon Belisarians caused the Souldiers to throw dead bodies of Beasts, and poysonous Herbs into the water, and to quench burning Lime in it; that the Goths having but one Well within the Walls, with little water in it, were much scanted. Neither did Belisarians use any more force or designes against the Town, hoping by Famine only to have his will of the Enemy; and therefore he attended earnestly to his Guards and Sentinels. The Goths also in their great wants were quiet, expecting an Army from Ravenna.

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The Kings of the Francks understanding how things went, and desiring to put for Italy, sent Ambassadours to Vitigis with offers of aides, so they might share the Dominion of the Country with him; which Belisarius being advertised of, sent also Ambassadours to dispute it with the Francks, and among others, Theo-

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dosins the Steward of his house. The Francks Ambassadours were first heard, and spake thus: " The Kings of the Francks have sent us hither, forry to heare that you are diffressed by Belisarius, and ready according to their League to avenge you. There is an Army passed the Alpes, of 500000. men, who at their very first "Encounter will over-whelme the Roman Army with their battle Axes. Hearken not therefore to their Counsell, who would make you Slaves, but to theirs rather who in their Affection to you embrace the hazards of a War; And the "rather, because joyning with us, the Romans cannot hope to match both our "powers, but we shall with ease have the Victory. Whereas if you joyne with "the Romans, yet shall they not be able to stand against the Francks, (the Bat-"tell even then being not to be with equall powers ) and you will be vanquished "in the company of your greatest Foes. To run therefore into so evident mischiefe, having meanes to be preserved without hazard, is extreamest folly. The Romans "are not faithfull to any Barbarians, but naturally Enemies to them. But we (if "you like it ) will share with you the Dominion of Italy, and divide the Country "as we shall both think best. Make choice therefore of what is most expedient for "you. The Francks having done, the Ambassadours of Belisarius spake thus: "That the Francks multitudes shall not hurt the Emperours Army, as these men "would fright us, what needs a long Speech to you, whose experience hath learnt "all the moments of War? and that Valour is not vanquisht with multitudes. "The Emperour can more then any, (if he please) exceed his Enemy in numbers. The faithfulnesse of these men to all Barbarians, we know, and themselves " have shewed it to the Thuringians, Burgundians, and to you their Allies: So " that we would gladly ask, by what God they mean to sweare for the pledge of "their Faith. How they have respected him by whom they have already sworn, "you know; who coming as Friends to aide you, did not only not joyne in the "danger; but impudently took Armes against you; if you remember what they "did at the Poe. What need we, by repeating things past, convince the Francks im-"piety? Can any thing be more deteltable then this their Ambassage? as if they had forgotten former Treaties; now they pretend their aides to be better then "other mens; but if they obtain the Goths to mingle with their Armies once, what "will be the period or their infatiable defires, were good to confider. Belifarins Ambaffadours having thus spoken, Vitigis after long conference with the principall Goths, chose an Accord with the Emperour, and dismist the Francks with de-

From hence forward the Romans and Goths fent Ambassadours to each other: But still Belisarius set Guards to hinder importation of Provisions; and he employed Vitalius to take in Townes in Venetia, and himselfe with Ildeger guarded both sides of the Poe, to draw thus the Goths to yeild to him upon his own tearmes for want of Victuall. Hearing how there was much Corn in the publick Magazines of Ravenna, he won a Citizen with money to set them all on fire; which loss (some say) happened by Mattasuntha's advise, the Wife of Vitigis. It was so suddenly done, that some thought it was by lightning, as others by designe, and Vitigis and the Goths taking it in either kind, sell into more irresolution, neither trusting one another, and thinking God himselfe made War against them.

In the Alpes also which divide Gaule and Liguria, (called Alpes Cottia) are many Castles, whereof many principall Goths have the Guard, having long dwelt there with their wives and children. Belisarius desirous to reduce them, sent Themas thither, one of his retinue, with some few, to give Faith, and receive the Goths upon composition, whom Sissis commander of all those Garrisons received into a Castle, and with himself brought in all the rest. In the mean time Uraas with 4000 choice men out of Liguria, and those Castles, was marching to succour Ravenna: These hearing what Sissis had done, and assaid of their own Estates, with Uraas went first to these Cottian Alpes, and besieged Sissis and Thomas. John Vitalianus hearing of it, and Martinus (being then about the Poe) came to their succour with their forces, and some of the Castles they surprized, and made the Inhabitants slaves, and among them many wives and Children of Uraas souldiers, who from those Castles had followed him; but hearing now how their own Estates were ran-

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fack't, they suddenly ran from the Soths Camp to John, whereby Vraas could do nothing there, nor yet releive Ravenna, but went into Ligaria with some few, and lay still.

# CHAP. XXIV.

N the mean time, Belifarius that up in Ravenna, Vitigis, and the cheife of the Goths: and the Emperours Ambaffadors arrived, Domnicus and Maximinus, both Senators; with commission to make peace upon Tearms, that Viritis thould have half the Revenues of the Crown, and the Dominion of the country beyond the Poe; the other half of the Revenues to be the Emperours, and the rest of Italy to be subject to him, and to pay him Tribute. The Ambassadors shewed the Emperours instructions to Belifarius, and were conducted into Ravenna: And Vitigis and the Goths gladly agreed to conclude the treaty upon those conditions. This discontented Belifarins, as an ill service to hinder him from the absolute conquest, and his bringing Vitigis to Constantinople prisoner, having it in his power: and at the Ambassadors return he refused to signe the Treaty, upon which the Goths were jealous of the Romans that they fraudulently propounded a peace, and protested to conclude nothing without the fignature and oath of Belifarius. Who hearing that some Commanders taxed him with a delign against the Emperours service, to prolong the War; he called them all, and in the presence of Dominicus and Maximinus spake thus "The fortune of the war (I and you know) stands not upon firm "Ground; many in hope of an instant victory have been overthrown, and an Ene-"my, in appearance ruined, hath beyond imagination fubfifted. So that men conful-"ting of peace, are not to fancy the best for themselves only, but to consider the "event both waies in possibility, and so to resolve. And I now assemble you my "fellow Commanders, and the Emperours Ambassadors, that chusing with all free-"dome what you think most expedient for the Emperour, you may not after the "businesse done, lay imputations upon me; it being most unreasonable, when you "may chuse the best, to be silent, and when you see the Event, then to coyn acci-"fations. The Emperours resolution, and Virigis mind for concluding the war, you "know; which if you conceive to be expedient, fay fo; but if you thinke your "felves able to recover Italy, and to subdue the Enemy, there is no danger, boldly "to fay it. Belifarius having spoken, they all faid plainly that the Emperours instructions were best, and that they were not able to do more then they had done. The opinion pleased Belisarius, and he bade them expresse it in a writing, that they might not deny it afterwards; which they figned accordingly; that they were not able to subdue the Enemy by war. But the Goths the while prest with Famin, could hold out no longer; weary they were of Vitigis government, and yet scrupulous to yell to the Emperour; fearing to be removed by him out of Italy to Constantinople, and planted thereabout. So that the principall men upon debate resolved to declare Belisarius Emperour of the West, and secretly they sent to entreat him to accept the Empire, profeshing to be most willing to obey him. Belisarius would not take the Empire without the Emperours confent; to whom he was tyed in a folemn oath, not to innovat during the faid Emperours life; and the very name of an Usurper he hated: yet to facilitate his bufineffe, he feemed to accept the offer. Vitigis perceiving it, out offear, commended the Goths resolution, and secretly animated Belisarius, that there should be no rub in his way to the Empire. Belisarius hereupon called the Commanders with the Ambassadors, and askt them, if they thought it not a matter of importance, to make all the Goths, and Vitigis the Emperours Captives; to thate their wealth, and to recover all Italy to the Romans: They faid, it would be an extream high fortune, and prayed him to effect it if he could. Prefently Belifarius fent some of his favorites to Virigis, and the cheife Goths, willing them to perform their offer immediatly. Indeed the Famin would not permit a put-off, but brought them to it; that again they fent Ambassadors with the former propositions openly, but privatly to take Belifarius oath for their indemnity, and that he would be King of Italy; and that done, to return into Ravenna with the Roman army. Concerning

the rest Belisarius gave oath; but touching the Kingdome, he said he would swear it to Vitigis and the Goths Commanders. The Ambassadors not thinking he would reject the Kingdome, but that he defired it above all things, prayed him forthwith to march into Ravenna. Belifarius fent away Narfes, Ararius, Beffas and John, whom he suspected to be worst affected to him ) to quarter with their Troops in leverall countryes, telling them he could not possibly bring into that city provisions for the whole army. They with Athanafius, Prefett of the Palace, lately come from Constantinople, went accordingly; & himself and the rest of the army entred Ravenna, with the Goths Ambassadors. He commanded also ships he had laded with Corn, to come into Escla the haven for Ravenaa. When I faw the entrance of this army into Ravenna, I confidered how actions are not concluded by valour, multitudes, or human virtue; but that some spirit steers the wits and judgments of men thicker, where nothing can hinder the pre-ordained conclusion. The Goths had much the advantage in numbers and power, and fince they came to Ravenna had no battell, nor their courages dejected with any accident, yet they became prisoners, and thought it no shame to be slaves to fewer in number. The women (who had heard from their Husbands, that the Enemy were tall gallant men, and not to be numbred, icorned the Souldiers when they faw them in the City, and reviled their husbands cowardice. pointing at their conquerours.

#### CHAP. XXV.

UT Relifarius kept Vitigis in an honourable restraint, and sent away such Goths as inhabited this fide the Poe, to their own houses, to possesse them freely; fearing from thence no hostility, nor that the Goths would gather head in those parts, because much of the Army was there Garrison'd. And thele Goths were glad to go home, whereby the Romans in Ravenna were fecure, having equal numbers. The Treasures in the Palace he feifed, with intent to carry them to the Emperour; But neither himselfe plundred any Goth, nor suffered others; leaving them their Estates according to the Accord. The Captaines of Fortreffes, hearing Ravenna and Vitigis to be in the Romans hands, sent to Belisarius offers of furrendring the same upon Composition. He gave them assurances, and received Tarvisium, and another strong Hold: Cesina and Emilia he had taken in before with Ravenna; and the Goths Garrison'd in those places, upon affurances given, came into Belifarius, and thaid with him. Ildebad also, Governour of Verona, having his Children Prisoners in Ravenna, fent to Belisarius to the same purpose; but he would not put himselfe into his hands there. In the mean time some Commanders had traduced Belifarius to the Emperour fally with usurpation; Who not beleiving the acculation, but the Persian war pressing him, sent for Beli-Jarius to make an Expedition that way. Belifarius left the charge of Italy with Bef-Jas and John, and some others; and he directed Constantianus to come to Ravenna from Dalmatia. But the Goths inhabiting beyond the Poe, hearing how Belifarius was called home, at first made no account of it, not thinking that he would less esteem a Kingdome then his faith to Justinian: But afterward seeing his preparations to be gone, their cheif men continuing in those parts, went into Picenia to Ureas, fisters Sonne to Vitigis, and after much lamenting, spake thus, "There is none a greater 'cause of these miseries of our Nation, then your self. We had long since deposed 'your uncle, so cowardly and unfortunate a Prince, as formerly we did Theodatus the "fifters Son of Theoderick, if we had not (respecting your valour) given him the "Title, but in Effect put the Kingdome into your hands. But now our then see-"ming good counsell, appeares our folly, and the cause of these Calamities. The best "Goths are confumed by the war, and the best of the remainder Betifarius is carry-"ing, away with all our Treasures; and no man doubts, but we shortly being few, & enemies, shal fuffer the same. In this extremity a glorious death is better, then to be-"hold our wives and children led Captives to the uttermost bounds of the earth; and "might we have you in the head of us, we may yet do something worthy the name of valour. Ureas made this answer: I am of your opinion, to chuse danger before sla-"very; but to make me King I hold it in no fort convenient. For being the Nephew of "Virigis, a man fo unlucky, the Enemy may despise me, supposing Fortunes ever

"to run in a blood. Befides I shall seem dishonest to intrude upon my Uncle, and "thereby have many male-contents. My Sentence is, to make Ildebad King in this "danger, a man accomplisht in Virtue, and very valiant, whole Uncle Theudis, "King of the Vifigoths, in likely-hood will enter into this War for his fake, where-"by we may dispute it with more hope. This advise of Vreas seemed best; and forthwith Ildebad was sent for from Verona, whom they invested with the purple Robe, and proclaimed King, recommending unto him their Affaires. " Ildebaid being thus made King, affembled the Goths, and spake thus: Fellow Souldiers, we "have had experience of many Wars, and in likely-hood shall not run rashly now into this; Experience brings Wit; and wit is never Foole-hardy. It is fit now to confult of our present Estate, by calling to mind the former Accidents. Men "by an affected forgetfulnesse of things past, and so by foolishly keeping high "thoughts, have been ruined in their greatest occasions. Vitigis, without your oppoling him, hath put himselfe into the Enemies hands; you being tired with croffe Fortunes, and chufing rather (quietly fitting at home) to obey Belifarins, then to hazard. But he being going to Constantinople, now you resolve to ftir; whereas you should consider, that men speed not alwaies in the way they "expect, that often the Event beyond Imagination is contrary to the apparance; Fortune and Repentance commonly doing best, unlookt for, which is not un-"likely, may be now the case of Belisarius. Wherefore our best way is, to send first "to know his mind, and to perswade him to what was lately accorded, and so to enter into action. This counfell of Ildebad they all conceived to be best, and immediately fent Ambassadours to Ravenna; who put Belisarius in mind of his Agreement, blamed his infringing the fame, and reproached him for not blushing to be thus a Voluntary Slave, and to prefer Servitude before a Kingdome. Many fuch Provocations they used, and animated him to accept the Government, assuring him that Ildebad would willingly give place, lay at his feet the Purple Robe, and falute him, Belifarius, King of the Goths and Italians. The Ambassadours spake thus, thinking that Belisarius would not be so scrupulous, as to reject the Title of a King. But he, contrary to their expectations, plainly refused it, saying; that during the Emperour Justinians life, he would not intrude upon such a Title. They hearing this, instantly departed, and reported it to Ildebad. And Belisarius took his Journey towards Constantinople, the Winter ending, and the fifth yeare of this War, written by Procopius.

Finis lib. 2. Bell. Goth.



THE

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#### XX.

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#### XVI

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XX. Toti-



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour

# JUSTINIAN.

Of the GOTHFCK VVarre, the Third BOOK.

# CHAP. I.

H

HUS Belisarius, leaving Italy yet unsetled, brought Vitigis and Ildehads children to Constantinople, with all the rich spoiles; accompanied only with Ildiger, Valerianus, Martinus, and Herodian. Justinian was glad to see Vitigis and his Queen, admiring the Goths for their beautifull tall bodies. Theodericks treasures (a goodly sight to behold) he took into the Palace, and in private exposed them to the view of the Senate, glorying much in the greatnesse of the things done. He shewed not the same to the People, nor allowed Belisarius

a triumph, as after his conquest of Gélimer and the Vandals. Yet was Belisarius the discourse of all the world, having gained the honour of two unmatchable victories, brought two Kings Prisoners to Constantinople; and beyond all expectation, made spoiles of Warre the face and wealth of Gensericke, and Theoderick, the most illustrious of all the Barbarians. He brought backe also to the Roman State their owne wealth from the hands of their Enemies, and in a short time recovered the Dominion of almost one halfe of the Land and Seas thereof. It was a delight to the Constantinopolitans (and they could not be satisfied with it) to behold daily Belisarius passing from his house, and returning thither through the Market-place; His going in the streets being a kind of triumph; multitudes of Vandales, Goths, and Moores ever following him; and he was a beautifull personage, tall, and of the goodliest countenance that could be seen; To sutors ever easie of accesse, and milde as the meanest man. Both the Souldier, and the Countrey-man were ever infinitely in love with his Government, being to the Souldiers exceeding bountifull; to such as had mischances in sight, comforting their wounds with large summes, and to such as did bravely, giving chaines and bracelets for prizes of honour. If a Souldier in sight, loss his horse,

or his Bow, or the like, presently he had another from Belisarius. And he was dear to the Countrey people, because he used such good husbandry and providence. that where he was Generall, none ever suffered violence, but all where his Armie came had the strange fortune to grow richer; felling their commodities to the Souldier at their owne rates, who guarded still their ripe Corns, to keep off Horse from spoiling them; Neither was any suffered to take away their ripe fruits. Belides he had a wonderfull care of his chaffity, never touching any woman but his Wife; and of fo many faire Prisoners of the Vandales and the Goths ( fuch as none eyer faw the like ) fuffering not one to be brought into his fight, nor to come at him. He was of a very sharp wit, and excellent in a doubtfull case to devise the best way; valiant in Warr with cautiousnesse, and bold upon advise of reason; ever either swift or flow in his undertakings upon an Enemy, according to occasion. In extreamities resolute, full of hope, and free from perturbation. In prosperity hee was neither exalted, nor voluptuous: No man ever faw Belifarius drunck. And thus during his command in Affrick and Italy, he was still victorious, and Master of all in his way: And when he came home to Constantinople, his worth was yet more taken notice of; For being himselfe eminent in vertue, and exceeding all the Generalls that ever were in wealth, and in the strength of his Lanciers, and Targettiers, he was terrible both to Commanders and common Souldiers. So that no man durst oppose his commands, but readily put in execution what he directed; both reverencing his worth, and fearing his power. For he had ready of the Retinew of his House 7000. Horsemen, choice men, and every one of them thinking himselfe fit to stand in the first ranck at a Battaile, and to challenge the bravest of the Enemies. The ancient men of Rome at that siege seeing what those men did in the fights then, and taking it for a great wonder, faid, That one mans Family ruined the power of Theoderick. Thus was Bellfarius growen powerfull both in dignity and counfell, ever advising the Emperours best advantage, and cheerfully executing what was resolved.

But the other Commanders (being equall in power, and having no thought but upon their owne private gaine) made spoile of the Roman Subjects, and exposed them to the injuries of the Souldier. They apprehended nothing worthy themselves, nor had the Common fouldiers obedient to their commands; and fo committing many errours, the Romans affaires were in a short time ruined; and thus it was.

Ildebad hearing that Belisarius was gone from Ravenna, and upon his journey, recollected the Goths, and fuch Roman Souldiers as would revolt; was carefull of the Government, and diligent to recover the Dominion of Italy. At first he had with him but a thousand men, and no Towne but Picenum. But in a while all who were

in Ligaria, and Venetia, came dropping in to him.

There was in Constantinople one Alexander, chiefe Auditor of the publique Treafury, called Logothetes by the Romans, from the Greek. This mans practice was to inform against Souldiers for wronging the Treasury; and for such misdemeanors by bringing them to justice, he became of an obscure man eminent, and of a Beggar very rich. He raifed as much money for the Emperour as any many but was the greatest cause that the Soldiers were few & poor, and backward in dangers. At Constantinople they gave him a nick-name, Pfalidion, for the dexterity he had to clip away the ring of the gold coyn; and though he made it leffe, yet to have it keep the circular form it had at the first. The instrument wherewith this is done, is called Pfalidion, or clipping Theers. This man the Emperour sent into Italy, when he recalled Belifarins; And he in Ravenna fer a foot Audits without reason, calling the Italians to accompt, who never toucht the Emperour monies, and some that never had publique employment, and charging them with wrong done to Theodorick, and the other Gothish Kings, and compelling them to repay what they had robbed, or fraudu-dulently gained, as he alleadged. The Souldiers for their wounds and hazards he requited with flender accounts; whereby the Italians grewill affected to the Empe-

rour, and the Souldiers would not engage themselves into dangers; but turning wilfull cowards, advanced the Enemies affaires to a great height.

All the Commanders sate still, but Vitalins, who had with him in Venetia many Hernlians, and some other numbers of the Army; he would fight with Ildebad, fearing (what afterward came to passe ) that his growing power might not so easily be restrained. The Battaile was valiantly fought neer the City of Tarvisium;

but Vitalins had the worft; and fuffering the loffe of most of his men, with a few escaped by flight. Many Hernlians fell, and Vifandus their Leader. Theudimund, the Son of Mauricins, the Son of Mundus, a young man, was in much danger of being loft, but escaped with Vitalius. This Battell made Ildebad famous with the Emperour, and all men; Bur afterward Ureas fell foule with him, upon this occasion. Ureas had a Wife, for Wealth and Beauty, the chiefe of her Nation. She went once to the publick Bath bravely dreit, and with a goodly Traine; where feeing Ildebads Wife in a mean Habit, the bowed not to her, as to the Kings Confort, but flighted, and scoff'd at her; for as yet her Husband was in a low Condition, as having not been Master of any Kingly Revenue. But the Queen vexed with this groffe Affront, came weeping to her Husband, desiring him to right her, having suffered from Urans Wife things not to be endured. Whereupon Ildebad first accused Vraas to the Goths, of purposing a Revolt; and afterward killed him treacherously, and was hated for it by the Goths, who liked not this killing of Vraas without Examination; and they gathered together, and railed upon Ildebad for this foule Act; yet none of them were willing he should suffer for it. One among them, named Vilas, by race a Gepade, and a Lancier of the Guard to the Emperour, was a Striter to a very faire Woman, and infinitely doted upon his love. But being fent upon fome Service, Ildebad the mean while gave his Miffresse to another in marriage; either gnorantly, or upon fome motive: Which Vilas hearing at his coming from the Army, and being naturally impatient, could not beare the diffrace, but refolved to kill Ildebad; wherein he thought too to gratifie all the Goths. He observed his time as the King featted the chiefe men, when many use to fland by him, especially his Guards. The King reaching his hand to a difft, and howing with his face upon the Conch, Vilas suddenly strook him with his Sword upon the neck, that the meat being between his fingers, the head fell off, and amaled all the Company. Thus was the Murther of Oreas revenged upon I blebail; and the Winter ended, and the fixth \* yeare of this War, written by Procopins.

\* Incipit Annus 7. Bell.
Goth. in anno
15. Justiniani.

# CHAP. II.

A Mong the Goths was one Erarick, a Rogian by Nation, but he had gained a great power with the Goths. The Rogians are a Gothill Nation, formerly a free People; but Theoderick made them and fome other Nations his Confederates. and mingled them all together, and afed them joyntly against the Enemy. But these taking no Wives of any other Nation, preserved their Name in a Posterity of the whole blood. And the State being in trouble upon the Murther of Ildebad, they proclaimed Erarick King, which the Goths milliked, whole hearts were now quite down, and their hopes truffrated. For Haebad was a man able enough to have recovered the Dominion of Italy; but Erarick did nothing to purpose; and having reigned five Months, he was flain in this manner. Totilas, Nephew to Ildebaid, ( a wife and a Valourous man, and in much Estimation with the Goths ) commanded then the Goths in Tarvifum; and hearing how Ildebad was fram, fent to Ravenna to Constantianus, offering upon affurances of indemnity to deliver up Tarvillans, and the Goths under his Command. Constantiallus most gladly gave Oath, as To-Conflantiants, and to put the Gothift Garrifon into their hands. All the Ookhi were weary of Erarick's Government, finding him not capable to make a War with the Romans; and they railed on him as a hinderer of many good Defignes they were ready to act, when they killed Hachad. In conclusion, by common conclusion they feat to Tarvisium, exhorting Totilus to the Government. They felt the misse of Ildebad, and turned their hope of Victory upon Totilus, his Kinsman, hoping there-in what they defired. He told them plainly fils accord with the Romanis and that if they shall kill Erarick before his day of Assignment with the Romans, he will foll low them, and do as they defire him. The Goths upon this refored the rume of Eranick. In the mean time, the Roman Army feetire, and enjoying their Enemies troubles.

Book 111.

troubles, neither drew together, nor had any designe upon them. But Erarick as fembling the Goths propounded the fending Ambaffadours to Justinian, for fuch a peace as was once resolved to be made with Vitigis: namely, that the Goths hold. ing all beyond the Poe, should quit the rest of Italy. The Goths all approved the Motion; and he fent Caballarius, and some other of his Friends Ambassadouss, who were to pretend the negotiation, as aforefaid; but he gave them fecret Instructions, to treat only with the Emperour, to give him a good Sum of money, and to make him a Patritian, upon condition of his delivering up all Italy, and his laying down the Royall Habit. The Ambassadours coming to Constantinople, did according to his directions. In the mean time the Goths kill Erarick by treachery, and Totilas takes the Government, as was agreed. Instinian advertised hereof, both of the accident of Erarick, and that Totilas was made King, he could no longer contain from sharply reproving the Commanders: whereupon John, Vitalianus Sisters Son, Beffas, Vicalius, & the rest, leaving Garrisons in the Townes, drew together at Ravenna, where were Constantianus, and Alexander. They resolved in Counsell to lead the Army first against Verona, which is in Venetia, and having taken the same, to go against Totilas and Picenum. The Army was gotten together 12000. men, under eleven Commanders; and Constantianus and Alexander in chiefe. Being come within feven miles of Verona, they encamped before it; the City being compassed with faire Champians, reaching as far as Manina, which is a daies journey from Verona. In Venetia one Marcianus, a principall man, dwelling in a Castle not far from Verona, and well affected to the Emperour, sought meanes of delivering the City to the Romans. He was acquainted with one of the Watchmen, to whom he fent a Friend, and perswaded him for money to receive in the Emperours Army. The Watch-man promised, and Marcianus sent some to the Roman Commanders to negotiate, and to let them know the Agreement, and to enter the Town by night with them. The Commanders thought it best to send one of themselves before with a few; if the Watch-man open d the Gate, to make it good, and then the rest to bring the Army in without hazarding. All refusing the danger, Artabazes an Armenian chearfully undertook it; a very gallant Souldier, who was Captain of those Persians, whom Belisarius brought to Constantinople with Blischames, after his taking the Castle of Sisaurium. He settled a 100. men of the Army, and late in the night got neer to the Town. The Watch-man opened the Gate; some stood still and sent for the Army, others mounted the Walls and slew the Sentinels, coming unexpected: And the Goths perceiving the milchiefe, ran out at another Gate, and retired to a high Hill over against Verona from whence one may discern all done in the City, and number the men in the Streets, and it hath a large Prospect into the Champian ) and here they stayed all night. The Romans being within five miles of the City, would go no further; the Generals disputing about the Booty of it; and while they were thus brabling for the spoiles, the day grew bright. The Goths from the Hill discovering the Enemy in the Town, and how great a way the Army was from it, ran in at the same Gate. they ran out; the Romans within being not able to possesse it : who advising together fled to the Battlements, where the Goths in multitudes affailed, and they Stoutly defended, and did wonders; especially Artabazes. The Roman Commanders, when they had disposed the Wealth of Verona among themselves, marcht against the Town with the Army. But finding the Gates shut, and the Enemy strongly oppofing, they forthwith ran away, though they saw their Companions upon the Walls fighting, and calling to them to stay for them. So that Artabazes, and the rest being opprest with multitudes, and delpairing of Succour, leapt from the Walls; and himselse, with such as lighted upon smooth ground, came safe to the Camp, but they that fell upon stony ground, perisht all. The Reman Army past the Poe, and came to Faventia, which is a City of Emilia, standing 15. miles from it. Totals when he heard what had happened at Verona, fent for most of that Garrison, and with his whole Army being 50000 he marcht against the Enemy. The Roman Commanders hereof advertised, held a Counsell; where Artabazes spake

"Fellow Commanders, let us not delpife the Enemy, as inferiour in numbers; "nor as being to fight with men cowed by Belifarius, go on with resolution. Falle conceits

"conceits have deceived and undone many, and their unleasonable despising an "Enemy diffolved their Forces. The former ill successe of these men invites them to some better Fortune; Fortune by making men desperate, brings them to an "excesse of daring. I speak not this by guesse, I have learnt their Courage by "mine own late danger. And let none be offended with me for extolling their power, having been with a few with me beaten by them. Mens Valour is feen as well when they are more, as when they are fewer then those they fight with. "My Opinion therefore is, to guard the passage of the River, and when the Goths are halfe past over, to fight with them rather, then now with their whole body. "And let no man think that there is no honour in fuch a Victory. Honour and "difgrace receive their names from the Event. Men commend the Victors, not fearching into the manner of the Victory. Artabazes so spake; But the Commanders contradicting one another, did nothing they should do, but there staid, and did nothing. The Goths came neer, and being ready to passe the River, Totilas spake thus unto them. "Friends and Country-men; other Battells begin upon the shew of equality in the Armies to fight, but we now stand to fight, having a Fortune most unequall. If they be beaten, they have meanes to fight with us again, having numbers of Souldiers in their Garrisons, all Italy over, and expect-"ing forthwith the seconds of another Army from Constantinople. But if the same " befall us, the hopes and name of our Nation is loft; being already from 200000. reduced to 50000. yet is it fit that you be put in mind, that when you took Armes with Ildebad against the Emperour, you had but 1000 men together, and no place left but the Town of Picenum. But no sooner were you Conquerours, but your Armies and Townes augmented: And if you now do bravely, I hope "(the War proceeding probably) we shall vanquish the Enemy. It is the Fortune of Conquerours ever to grow in numbers, and power. So that refolve to meet "the Enemy chearfully, and stoutly; knowing, that if you get not the honour of "this day, you can never possibly fight again. Moreover our Enemies Injustice is to embolden us in this Battell. The Italians subject to them they have so opprest, that they need no other punishment for their Treason against the Goths: So (in "a word ) have they found all manner of mischieses from their new Guests. Now what is more eafily caught then an Enemy, who stands not found with God? Their feare of us also may encourage us; we going against no other men then those, who being in the midst of Verona, quitted it without reason, and ran away hamefully, none pursuing them. Totilas having used this encouragement, commanded 300, men to palle the River two miles and a halfe off, and to get behind the Enemy; and (the Fight being begun) to shoot at their backs, and being in confusion to gall them. Himselfe with the rest past there the River, and went against the Enemy. The Romans encountred them, and both marching faire and foftly, and being neer each other, Valiaris, a Goth, tall, and of a ftern Countenance, and very Valiant, rode out from the rest between the Armies, armed with Corllet and Helmet, and challenged any Roman to fight with him. Arrabazes accepted the Combate. Both rode against each other, and charged their Lances; Artabazes preventing, ran Valiaris into the left fide, who having his mortal wound, and lincking backward, his Lance resting upon the ground and at a great stone, kept him from falling: Arabases with eagernesse thrust his Lance into his belly, not thinking he had his deaths wound afready; and the head of Valiaris Lance flanding upright, lighted upon the Corflet of Artabazes, and gliding over it, peirged his neck, and cut one of the Arteries: He bled instantly in abundance, but feeling no pain, gallopt to the Roman Camp, and left Valiaris dead upon the place. The blood could not be stancht, fo that the third day he dyed, and stagger'd all the hopes of the Romans; for his being not able to fight in that Battell, was an extream ruine to them. He attending the cure of his Wound without Arrow-shot, the Armies joyned Battell; in the heat whereof the 300. Goths at the Romans backs suddenly appeared; the Romans thinking them to be great numbers, were afraid, and ran away in confusion; with the Enemy at their heels; who took many Prisoners, and all their Enfignes, a thing never before happened to the Romans. Commanders with some few ran into severall Townes for safety, and guarded the fame.

CHAP.

# CHAP, III.

Otilas forthwith fent forces against Florence, commanded by Bledas, Rodes ricus, and Valiaris, who fate down before it. Justinus within it having laid in no provisions, sent to Ravenna, praying the Commanders to come to his fuccour. The messenger by night slipt by the Enemy, and reported their Estate to the Roman Commanders in Ravenna, whereupon an army of good importance under Bessas, Cyprianus and John, Vitalianus his Sisters Son, marcht to Florence. The newes of them raised the Goths fiege, who retired to Micale, a Town standing a dayes journey from Florence. The Roman army left with Justinus some few men, and went against the Enemy: Upon the way they advised to make choise of one of the Commanders of most account, suddenly to set upon the Enemy, and the rest to march after fair and softly; they cast lots, and fortune gave it to John; but the commanders would not stand to the agreement, so that John with his own troops only went against the enemy. The Goths understanding their coming, left the champian, and in fear and tumult ran up to a high hill: Johns Troops ran up also, and be gan the fight. The Goths valiantly opposed, and many brave men fell on both sides. Then John furiously giving upon the Enemy with a great shout, one of his life guard was flain by a dart, whereupon the Romans retired, beaten back: Then came up the rest of the Roman army, and in the plain put themselves in batallion, and made an halte: if they had fet upon the flying Troops of John, and with them fet upon the Enemy, they had gotten the day, and had them almost all at their mercy; but an unlucky rumor was spred that folm was slain in the fight by one of his owne Life-Guard, so that they would stay no longer, but made a shamefull retreate, not retiring in a whole body, nor yet in Troops; but every man ran away as he could. Many of them perished, and they who escaped ran on for many dayes, none pursuing them, and at last every man as he could got into strong places, reporting to all they met, that John was flain: From thence forward they joyned not, nor had thought of making head; but every one kept within his walls, expecting a fiege. To tilas gained his prisoners with his much humanity to serve him willingly against the Romans, and then ended the winter, and the feventh year of this warr, written by Procopius.

Incipit An. 8. bel. Goth 6. Justiniani, Anno domini

Totilas then took in the Castles of Cesina and Petra, came into Tuscany; and the Towns there not yeilding to him, he past the Tiber, but would not touch upon the Territories of Rome, but went into Campania and Samnium, and tooke without labour the strong Town of Beneventum, and layd the walls flat with the Ground, that the Romans coming from Constantinople might not from a fortified place infest the Goths. Naples refusing to receive him, notwithstanding his fair words (having Conon within, with a thousand Romans and Isaurians ) he incamped before it with the most part of his army, and sent out some forces, who took in Cuma and other fortresses, from whence he raised great sums of mony. The wives of some Senators he found in the same, who had no incivility used to them, but were dismiss with much curtesie: from whence he got a great fame of the Romans of discretion and humanity. He still fent out small parties (no Enemy appearing against him) and did things of good importance, taking Bruttia, and Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria. He took up the Tributes, and from the land-holders received the rents; disposing all things as absolute Master of Italy. The Roman army hereby received no entertainments, and the Emperour owed it huge fumms; and the Italians mourned, beingreduced to so great danger, The Souldiers also grew more disobedient to their Commanders, and were glad to lye still in their Garrisons. Constantianus held Ravenna, John Rome, Bessas Spoletum, Justinus Florence, and Cyprianus Perusia; every one the place he had fled to. The Emperour hereof advertised, and esteeming it a great calamity, forthwith made Maximinus \* Præfect of the Palace for Italy, that he might be over the Commanders, and to furnish provisions to the Souldiers. With him he fent a navy, having aboard an army confisting of Thracians under Herodian, and of Armenians under Phazas an Iberian, fifters Son of Peranius, and some few Huns they had with them. Maximinus from Constantinople, with his Fleet came up-

Præfectus prætorio per Italiam.

on the coast of Epirus, where he spent the time to no purpose, being no Souldier. a coward; and an extream delayer. Afterward the Emperour fent Demetrius Generall: who had formerly commanded a company of Foot under Belifarius: He arriving in Sicily, and hearing how Conon was befreged in Naples and in great want of victuall, had a mind to succour him speedily; but with so small an army being not able, he treighted a number of ships, ( which he got together from all parts of Sicily) with corn and other provisions, making the Enemy beleive that he had a great army abroad, who indeed hearing of a huge navy coming from Sicily, expected a great army with it. If Demetrius had made directly for Naples, he had frighted away the Enemy and faved the city. But he was afraid to put in there, and failed on to the port of Rome, imploying himself there to gather together the Souldiers; Who being already beaten by the Goths, and extreamly afraid of them, refused to follow him against Totilas. So that with those only he brought from Constantinople, he went towards Naples, Another Demetrius, a Cephalenian, an ancient marriner very skilfull, when he failed with Belifarius into Affrica and Italy, grew famous for his skill, and the Emperour made him Procurator of Naples. In the beginning of the Goths feige there, being a man of a foul intemperate tongue, he used many difgracefull words against Totilas. The Famin there growing, and the mortality still increafing, with Conons consent he adventured in a small bark alone to go secretly to Dem. trius, and hardly escaping, he met with Demetrius, and incouraging him, drew him to undertake the businesse. Totilas hearing of the Fleet coming back, prepared many Pinnaces swift of fail, and the enemy being upon the coult neer Naples, he set on them fuddenly, amazed them, and put them to flight; killing many and taking more: They only escaped, who at first leapt into the cock-boats, among whom was Demetrius the Generall. The shipps the Goths took with all their men and Lading, and there found Demetrins the Procurator of Naples, whose Tongue they cut out, and so let him go whether he would; such was the punishment of Demetrius for his intemperate language. Afterward came Maximinus with his Fleet upon the coast of Sicily, where he fate still in Syracuse, afraid of the war. The Roman commanders, and especially Conon from Naples (whom all provisions now failed) sent to him to come to their fuccours : He wore out the feafon in this cowardly fear; but at last fearing the Emperours menaces, and wearied with the revilings of all men, he staied himself; but lent the army to Naple's under Demetrius, Herodian, and Phazas in the sharpest of the winter. The Fleet being neer to Naples a storm took them, fo great, that Demetrins and the two other yeilded to the Sea. The Waves would not fuffer the sea men to use their Oares, nor do any other worke, neither could they hear one anothers call for the Tempest. Confusion had the victory, and the storme was the absolute judge, bringing them against their wills to the shoare, where the Enemy was incamped; who climing up into their vessells, kill'd men and sunk ships none refisting: many prisoners they took, and the Generall himself, Demetrius. Heredian and Phazas, with some few putting in further from the Enemies campe, esca-

# CHAP. IV.

willing him to perswade the besieged, not to perish, trusting in Groundless hopes, but by yeilding to get free of their miseries; that no further succours could possibly be expected from the Emperour, and that their hopes and power was lost with that Navy. Demetrius spake all this unto them, and they being extreamly press with famin, and all kind of necessities, and seeing the disaster of Demetrius, and hearing what he said, dispaired, and lamented, not knowing what to do; and their City was full of tumult and howlings, Toxilas then calling them to the battlements, spake thus.

Citizens of Naples, we do not now beliege you upon any quarrell we have against you; but to disingage you from Masters that hate you, and to have the
power to recompense the service of every one of you to us, and his sufferings

angry

from the Enemy, you of all the Italians having shewed greatest affection to our Nation, and with most unwilling nelle come under the enemy; that now being neresfarry to beliege you, we blush when we thinke of your fidelity, though wee be-" flege you not for your hurt. Think not therefore, as offended with the accidents of the flege, that you must be ever angry with us. They who study the Good of "their freinds are not to be blamed by them, when they are inforced to do them good by none of the gentlest meanes. And be not affraid of the Enemy, nor thinke he what hath past, that they will conquer at last strange, unlookt for, and accidentall "things melt away in time. We have thus determined of you, to fuffer Gones and "his Souldiers to go free without harm, or loffe, they prefently furrendring the "City unto us; and upon this we are ready to swear that the Napolitans shall be "fafe. Both Comon and the Napolitans accepted this offer of Torilas, being extreamly prest with the Famine; but to comply with their faith to the Emperour, and having some hope of succours, they promised to surrender the City within thirty daies.

Totals to put such hopes out of their heads, assigned three Moneths, in which time he would not affault not have any deligne upon them. But the belieged not atten. ding the day (though affigued accordingly) urged by their necessitiess, received a while after Torilm into the City. The winter also ended, and the eighth year of this war, written by Procepins. Totalas used humanity to the Napolitans, not like a Barbarian Enemy. For fearing least the languisting Romans with Famine, coming fuddenly to eat their fill, might furfer themselves with fullnesse; He commanded guards at the Gates, and the port, to fuffer no man to go out, and with a provident paringnesse he gave them food more scarcely then according to their appetite; adding thereunto every day unfentibly. Then having restored them to strength, he let open the Gates, and let them go that would. Comon, and fuch Souldiers as would not flay with him, he shipped, and bade them fail whether they pleafed: They were ashamed to return to Constantinople but making towards Rome, the wind came croffe, and being not able to get away, they feared leaft Torilas might neglect his a. greements, and do them mischeif: but he perceiving their trouble, called them to him, comforted and cheered them, and invited them to joyne with the Goths, and buy what they wanted, or take it as from fremds. The wind continuing contrary a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and gave them a convoy of Goths to Rome: But the walls of Naples he threw to the Gound; that the Romans might not ( furprizing the Town ) infest the Goths from it: his define being rather to determin the war at once by a battell, then to be ever skirmilling against artifices, and stratagems: yet he left a good part of the faid walls stand-

Incipit an bel. Gothy. 17. Justiniani '& An. Dom. 544.

> There came to him at that time a Roman of Calabria, complaining, that one of his Life Guard had forced his daughter, a Virgin; he in great anger put the man in prison, not denying the fact, and was eager to punish him; but the cheif Goths fearing in the mans behalf, being valiant, and a good fouldier, affembled themselves in his presence, and befought him to pardon the crime; he mildly, and without any perturbation, made them this answer. "Fellow souldiers, I shall speak to you, not "from any humour of cruelty, or delight in my countrymens mif-fortunes; but from my fear of fome ill consequence unto us. I know that most men shift the "names of things to their contrary; they call the inobservation of Lawes, Mercy; ,, and hence all good things come to be corrupted, and confounded. On the contra-"ry, to pinch upon Lawes too exactly, is perverse and greivous, and also to use specious names, as a veile to a lincentions power, thereby to act wickednesse with "more security. But you I advise by no means to exchange your own safety for the guilt of another mans fin, nor to share in his impiety, having done no ill your felves: For to commit an offence, and to hinder the offenders punishment is e-" quall. Confider thus the bufineffe now presented, and determine accordingly; you " have the choice offered you, whether this man shall escape the just punishment of "his offence, or our nation be preferved, and conquer in this war. Think what numbers of Souldiers we had in the beginning of it, how famous, how well experienced in war; in a word, our endlesse wealth, abundance of horse and armes, and all the strong holds of Italy, and these were important preparations for a Wart. But when under Theodarus, a man that valued riches more then right, we made God

angry with us by our lawleffe living; how we fped you all know, and by what kind of men, and by how many we were beaten. Now God, having sufficiently punished our faults, frames our life to his own will, and conducts our affaires beyond our hopes. And being such now, and having vanquisht our Enemies, not proportionably to our powers, it will be more advantagious for us, to prepare a fair occasion of victory by doing that which is just, then by the contrary to appear envisors of our own Good For it cannot, it cannot be, that he that practises wrong and oppression; should get honour in the day of battell the fortune of the War is adjudged to mens good or bad lives. The cheif Goths upon this speech of Totilas, ceased to intercede for the offender, and left him to him; who soon after put him to death, and bestowed his Estate upon the ravished maid.

In this mean time the Roman army preyed upon the Subjects, leaving no infolence macked. Their commanders in their Garrifons with their Mistresses lived riotously; having the Souldiers disobedient, and full of all kind of disorders: between both the armies, the Italians suffered the hardest measures; the Enemy took their lands from them, and the Emperours army their goods: they were basely beaten for nothing, and perished for want of food. The Souldiers could not defend them from the Enemy, and were so far from blushing to see their miseries, that by their wrongs they made the Barbarians dear unto them. Constantianus troubled at this, wrote to Justinian, professing his disability to incounter the Goths: and the Commanders sign-

ed the Letter, being a confession of their base fear to fight.

Total as allo fent this Letter to the Roman Senat. When men ignorantly, or upon "forgetfullnesse do wrong, the wronged are to be easie to grant pardon: The cause of the offence concurring in fuch, excufeth the heaviest of the accusation. But a "man that does wrong upon malice, is not to be admitted fo much as to plead; fee-"ing he is to bear the blame not only of his fact; but of his intent. Which being fo, "what can you apologize for your actions against the Goths Can you be ignorant "of the favours of Theoderick and Amalasuntha? or can time wear them out of your remembrance? neither is possible. The benefits have not been mean, nor are of an ancient date; but in the most important things, and lately done. For "the Greeks Goodnesse to their subjects, your selves have, heard of it, and you have "had triall of it, and you have known how the Goths and Italians have sped under "them. What Guests and freinds they have been to you, the Audits of Alexander 'may inform you, to say nothing of their Souldiers and Captaines; you have in-'joyed their noble usage, by which their affaires are come into this case now. Think "not this to be the reproaches of an infolent young man, nor the vaunts of a Barba-"rian Prince. I fay not, that our subduing of these men is a work of my valour; but "that due vengeance for the injuries done to you hath overtaken them. And how abfurdly it shewes, that God should punish them for you, and yet you adhere to theirfolly, and refuse deliverance from the miseries arising from thence. Make therefore some introduction of an apologie, and of our pardoning you; which "will be, if while you have some hope (though a poor one) you chuse what is "best for you, and repaire what you have done amuse against us.

Totilas gave this letter to some prisoners, to deliver to the Senators in Rome; which they did; but John forbade them to answer it. Totilas wrote many other Letters to them, wherein were strong oathes, that no Roman should receive hurt from the Goths I cannot say who were the Messengers, all of them were in the night, & set up in the most publick places of the City, and discovered in the morning. The Roman Commanders suspected the Arian priests, and put them out of Rome. Totilas hereupon sent part of his army into Calabria, to summon the Castle of Otranto; and (the Garrison refusing to yeild) to besiege it: Himself with his main forces went

against the towns about Rome.

### CHAP. V.

† Insipit Annus in anno 18.reg. 10.Bell. Goth. Justiniani, & Anno Dom.

HE newes of these things troubled the Emperour; and though the Persian War lay heavily upon him, he was constrained to fend Belisaring against To tilas; and the Winter ended, and the ninth yeare of this War, written by Procopius; when Belifarius went the second time into Italy. † Having but few Soul. diers, (as being not able to withdraw his own Forces from the Army in Persia) he levied with his own money Voluntaries in Thrace, being assisted by the Emperours direction with Vitalius, Generall of Illyrium, lately returned from Italy, where he had left the Illyrian Cohorts; they both raised 4000. men, and came to Salara, determining to go to Ravenna, and thence to make the War: For about Rome they found they could not land unespyed, (the Enemy being in Campania

and Calabria) nor yet force their landing, being inferiour in powers.

In the mean time, the Garrison in Otranto (the Victuall being absolutely failed.) capitulated about the furrender of the Castle, by a day assigned. Belijarius put a yeares Victuall aboard Ships, and commanded Valentinus to transport it to Otranto, and to take out the former Garrison, pined with Sicknesse, and Famine, and put in the Souldiers he had with him aboard, being fresh and well supplyed. Valentinus with a faire wind got to Otranto four daies before the time assigned, and finding the Harbour unguarded, was Master of it, and entred the Castle without resistance. The Garbs being carelesse, and lying still under their confidence in the Capitulation, and imagining no opposition, and then seeing the Fleet enter, ran away in feare, and encamped themselves some distance from the Town, and advertised Totilas of what happened. Some Troops of Valentinus from Otranto made in-roads into the Country, and meeting the Enemy upon the Sea shoare, they fought, were beaten, and most of them sted into the Sea; where having lost 170. men, the rest retired into the Castle. But Valentinus, as Belisarius commanded, took out the old Garrison, (being men halfe dead) and leaving fresh men with a yeares Victual, he went to Salone with the rest. Belisarins from thence came with the Fleet before Pola; where he staid, and ordered the Army. Totilas hearing of his coming, and being desirous to know his Forces, he wrote Letters to him in the name of one Banus, Nephew to one John, and Commander of the Garrison in Genoa, entreating his speedy repaire to him, as being in much diffresse and danger. This Letter he delivered to five witty fellowes, directing them to spy what Forces Belisarius had, and to give out that they came from Bonns. Belifarins used the men courteoully, (as his manner was) perused the Letter, and bad them tell Bonus that he would be with him with his Army. They having spyed into every thing, returned to the Camp to Totilas, affuring him that Belifarins powers were not confiderable.

In the mean time Totilas took Tibur, which had in it a Garrison of Isaurians: Some of the Townef-men, guarding the Gates with the Isaurians, fell into an idle brable with them, and upon that ground drew in the Enemy by night. The Isanrians rallyed themselves (seeing the Town taken) and almost all got away; but of the Townes-men the Goths spared not a man, and killed the Bishop of the Town in a fashion, which I will conceale, not to leave to Posterity Monuments of Inhumanity: And one Catellus, a man much efteemed in Italy, perish also. Thus the Goths having Tibur, the Roman Citizens could no more import Provisions out of Tuscany, by the River of Tiber, the Town being upon the River 15. miles above Rome, and commanding the passage thither. Then came Belisarius to Ravenna with his Fleet, and calling to him the Goths there, and the Roman Souldiers, he

"It is not now only, that Vice hath ruined, what hath been built by Virtue; from the beginning it hath been so in humane Affaires. The lewdnesse of bad men hath been still able to demolish the Actions of the good. This hath over-"turned the Emperours Affaires; who to repaire the Errour, hath made lesse ac-"count of subduing the Persians, then of it; and hath sent me to cure the Faults committed by either Captaines, Souldiers, or Goths. It is above humane cond-"tion not to erre, but it becomes the Emperour to repaire the Errours of those,

"whom

whom from his Soule be loves; whereby you shall be also eased of your grievances, and both perceive and feele his good affection towards you, then which what Wealth is more valuable. My coming therefore being to this purpose, it behoves you to endeavour the obtaining of that Fruit, which will arise from thence. If any of you have Friends, or Kinsmen with Totilas the Usurper, let him fend for them, acquainting them with the Emperours intention. Thus you may "find good both from a peace, and the Emperours Favour for me: I come not to "pick Quarrels, nor to be an Enemy to the Emperours Subjects by my good will: But if some will still make slight the chusing their own good, and others take "Armes against us; we must, though most unwillingly, use such as Enemies Belifarins spake thus; but no Goth, nor Roman came into him; so he fent Therimuth, one of his Life-guard, with some of his own Retinew, and Vitalius with the Illyrian Cohorts into Emilia, to attempt the Townes there: Vitalius came to Boncnia, and after the taking of some Castles by composition, lay still there. Soon after the Illyrians retired home upon the fuddain, having fuffered nothing, nor fo much as heard any ill. They fent Agents to the Emperour, for pardon of this Retreat, in regard they had long ferved in Italy, and received no pay, and much was due to them from the Treatury. They heard besides of an Army of Hunnes, which in 11lyrium made Captives their Wives and Children, which caused them (wanting necessaries also) to go home all in one Troop. The Emperour was troubled at the proceeding, but at last pardoned them. Totilas hearing of the Illyrians Retreat, sent Forces to drive Vitalius and his Troops out of Bononia, who with Therimuth laid an Ambuth for them, killed many, and routed the rest; where Nazares an Illyrian Captain of good quality, did Miracles upon the Enemy. Therimuth then returned to Belisarius, who sent him Nicetas, and Sabinianus with 1000. men to Auximum, to re-enforce Magnus there beseiged. They by night got into the Town unfeen by Torikas and the Enemies Camp. The next day at noon, they fallied to encounter a party of Enemies they had notice of; fending before avantcoursurs to discover their Forces, that they might not blindly set on them. Ricilas of the Life-Guard to Belifarius, being in drink, would himselfe go upon the discovery, and gallopt on alone. In a rough stony way he met three Goths, and made a stand, as to fight with them, being very Valiant; but when he saw more coming in from all sides, he ran away. His Horse in the rough ground came over and over with him, at which the Enemy gave a great shout, and darted all their Javelins at him; the Romans perceiving it, went to his refcue, but he was covered with Javelins, and dyed upon the place. Therimuth took up his dead body and carryed it into Auximum, having met with a conclusion of life not futable to the Valour of the man.

# CHAP. VI.

Abinianus and Therimuth upon conference with Magnus, and confideration of the inconvenience of their longer stay, being so far under-matcht to the Enemy, and by consuming the Townes Provision making it more ready to be lost, they prepared to be gone, and to begin their journey in the night: But a Souldier ran out to the Enemies Camp closely, and revealed the designe. Totilas chose our 1000, good men, and laid them concealed three miles and three quarters from Auximum. These perceiving the Enemy at midnight upon the way, fell to work with their Swords, and killed 200. but being dark, Sabimanus and Therimuth got away to Ariminum; all the Baggage, Armes and Apparell, the Gaths took. Between Auximum and Ariminum are two small Townes, Pifaurus and Phanus upon the Jonian Gulfe. Vitigis in the beginning of the War had hurnt the houses, and broken down halfe their Walls, that the Romans surprising them, might not infelt the Goths. Pisaurus Belisarius resolved to seise, as a place fit for Horse-paflures; he sent some in the night to take the exact measure of the Dimension of each Gate, then framed Gates lined with Iron, and fent them thither by Sea, commanding Sabinianus and Therimuth to fet them up, and to flay in the Town and being

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being secure, to repaire the Walls with stones, and earth, as they could. This they did; and Totilas upon the news came against them with a great Army. But failing to take the Towne, after much time spent in the attempt, hee retired to his Camp before Auximum: Where the Romans fallied no more, but kept close within their walls. Belisarius tent Artasiras a Persian, and Barbation a Thracian, two of his Life-guard, to guard Rome with Beffas, being there already, directing them not to

But Totilas finding Belisarius not able to fight with him, fell upon the strong Townes; in Picenia he block'd up Firmum, and Alculum: and fo ended the Win-

ter, and the tenth yeare of this War, written by Procopius.

When Belifarius, having no meanes to releive the besieged Townes, sent Johnto Constantinople, making him sweare to return speedily, and to importune the Emperour for an Army and money, horses, and armes; the Souldiers being few, and refufing to fight, because of their wants, the Treasury owing them much money.

And he wrote of these particulars to the Emperour in these words.

" Most mighty Emperour! We are come into Italy, wanting men, horses, arms, "and money; And without a competent preparation of these, no man can make "Warre. Our Thracians and Illyrians we behold here few, wretched, and strag-"ling without Arms, and unexercifed for any fight; The rest deficient, fearfull of "the Enemy, with spirits dejected by their often beating, and not simple running "away only, but quitting their Horses, and throwing down their Armes. To raise "contribution in Italy is not possible, it being possest by the Enemy : And being "behind with the Souldiers for their Pay, we cannot lay commands on them, the debt taking away our confidence. And the most of those that served your Maje-"flie are run to the Enemy. If nothing therefore needed, but the fending Belifari-" m into Italy, the Warr is excellently prepared; for I am in the midit of Italy. "But if you meane to vanquish your Enemies, there must be other preparati-"ons. No Generall can subfift without men to follow him. Above all things it be-"hoves therefore, that you fend me mine owne Lanciers and Targettiers, and store " of Hunnes and other Barbarians, who must have present money.

Thus wrote Belifarius : But John Haying long at Constantinople, effected nothing for what he came thither, but marryed the Daughter of Germanus, brothers sonne

to the Emperour.

In the meane time Totilas tooke Firmum and Asculum by composition; and in Tuscany belieged Spoletum, and Assistum. Herodian commanded the Garrison in Spoletum; and that of Assissum, Sisiphris a Goth, but well affected to the Romans. Herodian agreed to render the Towne with himselfe and Souldiers within thirty days, if no succour came, and gave his sonne for Hostage. And the day prefixed being come, and no Romans appearing, Herodian and the Souldiers yeilded themselves and the Town to Totilas. Some fay that Herodian did this upon hatred to Belifarins, who threatned to question him for his rapines and oppression. Sisiphris in Assistant made fome fallies, and in the end molt of his men and himselfe were slaine; whereat the Towns-men despairing, rendred the Towns. Totilus also sent to Pernia, threatning Cyprianus there, if he would not yeeld the Town to him, and promiting him money to do it. Not prevailing with him, he practifed with Uliphus, one of his Life-guard, for money to murder him; who watch'd him when he was alone, and having killed him, ran to Totilas. Yet the Garrison kept the Towne for the Emperor, and the Goths retired from it. Then went Totilas to Rome, and belieged it. To the Husbandmen of Italy he did no damage, letting them securely manure their Land, paying to him the rents and tributes referved to the Treasury, or the Owners At Rome, some Goths approaching the walls, Artafiras and Barbation (against the opinion of Bellas ) fallyed with fome Troops, and killed many, routing the rest; whom purluing too far, they fell into the Enemies Ambushes, where they lost most of their men, and escaped narrowly themselves, and afterward forbare to charge the Enemy, though they prest upon them.

Hence the Famine grew fore in Rome, no Victuall coming in by L'and, and being shut from the Sea. For the Goths, after they had Naples, kept a kind of a Fleet of fmall Barques about the Islands of Aolus, and other Islands in that Sea, which guarded exactly the passage of ships; that all from Sicily, failing to the Port of Rome, fell

among them.

Totilas

Totilas sent also an Army into Emilia, to take Placentia by force or tomposition, being the chiefe City of that Province, and well fortissed, and standing upon the Pot, and only remaining obedient to the Romans. This Army summoned the Garison to yelld upon composition; and not prevailing, sell to besiege it, finding they wanted provisions. And at the same time the Commanders in Rome were jealous of Cerbegus, a Putrician, that he betrayed them; who thereupon sed to Centumcelle.

Belifarius fearing the losse of Rome, and of all the rest; and from Ravenna, and with lossed in Army, to releive them being not able, he resolved to rise from thence, and to surprize some places neer Rome, from whence he might aide it in distress. He repented his coming to Ravenna, upon the persuasions of Vitalius, distaurageously for the Emperours service; For being that up there, he gave the Enemy free scope to advance their assairs. Either Belisarius chose the work, that the Romans might have a mischiese; or he chose the best: but God cross it, purposing to savour Toilas and the Goths, and turning Belisarius good counfells to the quite contrary. So when Fortune blows a faire gale, mens worst counfells meete no disaster, being wasted by the higher power to all advantages. Unfortunate men either advise nothing well, their face hiding from them all knowledge and right apprehension of things: Or advising well, fortune with a crosse wind turns their good advises to bad events.

But Belifarius lest Ravenna, committing the guard of it to fustions; and through Dalmatia came to Epidamnus, where he staid, expecting an Army from Constantinople, and by his letters acquainting the Emperous with his condition. Who sent him an Army of Barbarians and Roman Souldiers under John, the Nephew of Vitalianus, and Isaac the Armenian, Brother to Aratius, and Narses; who coming to E-

pidimnus, joyned with Belifarius.

He sent also Narses the Eunuch to the Hernian Princes, to obtaine aides of them for Italy. Many Hernians came along with him, under Philimuth and others, to the confines of Thrace, there to Winter, and at the beginning of the Spring to be fent to Beliarius. With them was John Phagas. In this journey they did the Romans a great service by chance. A multitude of Slavonians had passed the River Ister, and tack'd the Towns thereabout, and taken abundance of Roman Captives. The Hernians sought with them, and though inferiour in numbers, beate them, and killed many, and freed the captives, and sent them home.

#### CHAP. VII.

T that time Narfes discovered the imposture of one naming himselfe Chilbudins, who had been a famous Generall of the Romans. This Chilbudins was first of Instinian's Retinew, a valiant Souldier, and so great a despiter of wealth, that it was his greatest riches to possesse nothing. fastinian in the fourth yeare of his Reign made him Generall of Thrace, and gave him the guard of the River Ister, to hinder the passage of Barbarians, the Hunnes formerly, Antians and Slavonians having come over, and done much mischiefe to the Romans. Chilbudius grew fo terrible there, that in his three years continuance in that charge, not a Barkarian durst passe the River; and the Romans under Chilbudius invaded the other fide, and killed and took many Captives. After three yeares he paffed over the liver with a small Army; the Slavonians in a Battaile Rifly fought, killed many Romans, and Chilbertins the Generall. From thence forward the Barbarians came over at pleasure', and the Provinces lay open to them; all the Reman Empire in this non countervailing the valour of one man. After this the Antians and Slavonians fell out, and in a Battaile the Antians were vanquisht. Wherein a Slavonian took a youth of the Enemy named Chilbudins, and led him home. This man in time besame very affectionate to his Mafter, and valiant against the Enemy; having often fought fingularly well, hazarding for his Master, and fo getting a great reputation. About the same time the Antians entred Thrace, which they pillaged, and tooke

CHAP.

Generall.

pilliger, and

took many Captives; one of whom Fortune brought to a gentle Master. But the fellow being a knave, and cunning to deceive, and desirous withall to return to his owne Countrey, came once to his Master, and commended his humanity, while God (he said) would reward, and himselfe would not be ungratefull to so kinda Master; but if he would follow his advice, he would make him a rich man. For a mong the Slavonians was one Chilbudius the Roman Generall, unknown, and requited a slave; whom if he would ransome, and conduct into Roman Land, he should get the Emperours fayour, and a great reward. Thus this Roman perswaded his Master, and with him went into Slavonia, there being truce then between them, and safe intercourse. Hee paid the ransome to this Chilbudius Master, and took him home; where he ask'd the man if he were Chilbudius the Roman Generall. He told him all the truth; that he was an Antian, and taken Prisoner by the Slavonians then Enemies, but now being restored to his Countrey, he claimed freedome according to the Law.

The man who had laid out his money, stood mute, and vexed to fall from his hopes thus. But the Roman cheered him up, and to out-face the truth, that it might not crosse his return home, considently said that it was Chilbudius; but being mong Barbarians, he was afraid to reveale himselfe; Were he once upon Roman ground, he would be proud of the name, as he had reason. In the end the business came to the knowledg of all the Antians; who stird in it, pretending a publique interest, and imagining to make a great advantage, of having Chilbudius the Roman

These people both Antians and Slavonians, are not under a Prince, but anciently are a Democratie: whence all things are brought to the common vote. They have almost the same Laws and customes: They hold one God, who makes the light. ning, and is only Lord of all things. To him they facrifice Oxen and other victimes. They acknowledg no destiny to govern among men; when Death threatens either in a sicknesse, or in a Warr; they promise if they may escape, to offer to God a facrifice in recompence for their life: And if they escape, they pay their vow, and think they have bought their safety. They worship also Rivers, Nymphs, and other Spirits, to whom they sacrifice too; and by those sacrifices make their predictions. They dwell in poor wretched Booths, scattered, and still shifting their habitations. In fights the most part serve on foot, with Shields and Javelins, having no Corselets, and some not so much as a Coate, or Mantle; but they tye up their Trouses above their Privities, and so enter into the fight. They both use one Language, and thata very barbarous one: And they differ not in shape, being all tall and very strong. Their haire is neither very white, nor yellow, nor yet black at all, but inclining to red. They live hardly, and flovenly like the Hunnes; wicked they are not, nor cunning, but in their simplicity much of the Hunnish disposition. They had both formerly but one name, and were called Spori, because they pitch their booths constitution scatteredly; and so they take up much space of Land, holding the most part of the other fide of the River Ister.

But then the Antians in their Assembly urged the said man to acknowledge himselse to be Chilbudius, and denying it, threatned him. In the meane time came Ambassadors to them from Instinian, who offered to plant them in Turris, an ancient City built by Trajan; which had been sack d by Barbarians, and layen long wast. Instinian offered them this City, and the Countrey about, formerly belonging to the Romans, and to plant them in it with his powers; and besides to give them great summes of money; Conditionally they should keep a perpetual league with the Romans, and hinder the Hunnes si om over-running the Empire that way. They liked the Proposition, and promised to do so, if the Emperour would make Chilbudius his Generall, to settle their Plantation, affirming that man to be Chilbudius: And the fellow exalted with these hopes, had now a mind to it, and took the name upon him. So he was sent to Constantinople, and upon his way thither, Narses met him; and upon speech with him, found him a counterfet; yet he spake Latine, and had many marks of Chilbudius, which he cunningly assumed. Narses kept him close Prisoner, and at last got out of him all the matter, and tooke him with him to Constantinople.

Book III.

# CHAP. VIII-

N the mean time Belisarius sent Valentinus, and one of his life Guard named Phocas, an expert Souldier, with forces to the Haven of Rome, directing them to guard the castle of Portus, with the Garrison already there, commanded by Innocentius, and by excursions from thence to infest the Enemies camp. They accordingly fent word to Bessas in Rome, that they were ready to give a sudden alarme to the Enemies quarters, praying him when he saw the fight begun, to ride out to fecond them with some of his choice men; that so both together might do some service upon the Enemy. Bessas, though he had 3000 Souldiers, liked it not: yet Valentinus and Phocas with 500 charged of a sudden, and killed some. The besieged faw the ftir and tumult, but fallied not; fo that the other retired fafe to Portus. Again they fent to Beffas, complaining of his unbefeeming floth, and that they would make another Excursion, praying him to charge at the same time with all his army; but he refused to hazard a fally. So Valentinus and Phocas resolved to charge with greater forces. But a Souldier of Innocentius ran away to Totilas, advertizing him how from Portus he would be affaulted the next day. Totilas laid ambushes in their way, into which the next day they fell, and with the loffe of most of their men were flain themselves; few escaped to Portus.

Vigilius Bishop of Rome, being then in Sicily, sent some ships laden with corn, by some means to be put into Rome. The Enemy saw them coming into the harbour, and hid themselves in houses, to surprize them so soon as they put to land; which the Garrison in Portus perceiving, from the battlements, they waved their Garments to those in the ships, to come no neerer, but to turn some other way. But they understanding not their signes, took them for rejoycings at their coming, and invitings into the harbour; and the wind being fair they soon got in. There were Roman passengers aboard, and Valentinus a Bishop; and the Goths from their Ambush seized upon the ships, none resisting, and put all to the sword save the Bishop, whom they brought prisoner to Totilas: and he, after he had questioned what he would, cut off his hands, charging him that he had not spoke truth. And then ended the Winter, &

the eleventh year of this war, written by Procopius.

Vigilius also, Bishop of Rome, left Sicily, being sent for to Constantinople by the

Emperour, and having staid long in Sicily upon that occasion.

In Placentia, the belieged Romans wanting victuall fell to food abominated, and in the End to eat one another; fo that they rendred upon Composition. Rome also was destitute of all provisions; where was Pelagins, a Deacon of the same, who had long dwelt in Constantinople, [much savored by fustinian, and was grown rich; and lately come to Rome, he spent most of his riches upon men in want in this siege, and for his bounty got a great fame; being famous before through all Italy. The Romans having suffered under the famin incredibly, sent this Pelagius to Totilas to obtain some few dayes of ceffation, conditionally, that if during the same, no succours came from Constantinople, to render themselves upon a Composition. Pelagius accordingly came to Totilas, who saluted him with much reverence and curtesse, and first spake to him thus. "Almost all Barbarians reverence Ambassadors, but I besides, have from my youth honored vertuous men like your felf. And I know that the honouring or difgracing an Ambassador, is discerned not by fair countenances "and hollow-hearted complements, but by true and reall dealing; he is most honored who hath the plain truth told him, and is so dismist: and he most affronted, "who carries home nothing, but fained, deceitfull words. So that Pelagius, there are "three things, which if you ask not, you shall obtain all the rest; and it is good you should not mention them, least being the cause of your own effecting nothing, "you lay the blame on us; the not asking things futable to the condition of affaires producing commonly want of successe This then I say, move not for any Sicilian, "nor for sparing the walls of Rome, nor for restitution of your fugitive servants. For "it cannot be, that the Goths should favour a Sicilian, that these walls should stand, "or that our Souldiers should return again to be slaves to their Masters. And I will "tell you my reasons of these propositions, that they may not seem to proceed

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" from a willfullnesse. Sicily hath been ever happy, rich, and most fruitfull, not sup-' plying only the Inhabitants; but transporting also to you of Rome, yearlysufficient "for your uses; whereupon you befought Theoderick not to place Garrisons in it; " least it might decay in the Liberties and happinesse thereof. Things being thus, up. " on the coming of a Fleet of Enemies upon the Coast, not comparable to our "powers, the Sicilians neither advertized the Goths, nor shut their Gates, nor op. posed them in any fort, but with all alacrity received them with open armes, like perfidious flaves, who long had watcht an opportunity to run from their old ma. " fters to strangers. Hence the Enemy issued and got all Italy, surprizing Rome, and "maintaining it against more then a yeares siege, with the abundance of corne brought out of Sicily. Thus it stands with the Sicilians, whom the Goths cannot pardon, the hainousnesse of their crimes making them incapable of mercy. These "walls when the Enemy had once got into, they could never be drawn to a battell in open feild: with stratagems and circumventions they eluded our powers, and "became strangely Lords of all we had: And now we must prevent the like here-"after. Men ignorantly undone, to fall again into the fame ruin whereof they had "experience before, is not to be attributed to the crosnesse of Fortune, but to their own groffe Folly. Besides, the demolishing your walls is your own advantage; "Neither part hereafter being to be shut within them, and starved by the besiegue " adversary. So that both will put it to the fortune of a battell, and you without in-"curring danger, will be the prize of the victor. Touching your fugitive flaves, who have fought for us, and have our promise not to abandon them to their former "Mafters, if we should now betray them, even your selves will never trust us; it "being impossible that he that neglects his Engagements to men of all the most to be pityed, should be constant to any: It will be a Character of his falschood to all that meet him. To this Speech of Totilas, Pelagins thus answered. Great Sir, having intimated your respect of my Person, and of the quality of an Ambassadour, yet have you rancht both in the basest condition. I conceive him to "affront more his Friend, and an Ambassadour, who resolves to send him away "without his businesse, then he that strikes, or otherwise abuses him. Ambassa-"dours come not to receive honours from those who admit them, but to get dis-" patches for their good that fent them. It is better they were affronted at first, " and at last effect that they come for; then after many Careffes, to return with-"out their hopes. So that to what purpose should I supplicate you in these things, " or importune one that denies us, before he heare us? Only this I must say; that you shew what mercy you mean to use to the Romans, who have taken "Armes against you; who resolve an irreconcileable hatred against the Sicilians, "who never did it. But forbearing Supplications to you, I lift them up to God, "who takes vengeance of men that despise Supplications. Pelagins having thus "faid, went his way.

#### CHAP. IX.

HE Romans seeing Pelagius come back without effecting any thing, were much troubled. The Famine grew fore, albeit the Souldiers Victuall was not yet all spent: But the People in multitudes came about Bessa, and Conon, weeping and howling, and faid thus.

Conon, weeping and howling, and faid thus.

"Our Fortune O Generals is such, that if we could do you any mischiese, it were a Crime we could not be blamed for; our extream necessity being our excuse. But being not able to take revenge, we come to bewaile our Calamity; "And heare patiently our bold expression, weighing it by our sharp Sufferings. They who must despaire of safety, cannot observe their duty in words, nor deeds. "Think us not Romans, nor your Kins-men, nor conformable to your State; nor to have chearfully received the Emperours Army, but ancient Enemies, and to have taken Armes against you, and to be vanquisht in sight, and made your Prisoners by the Law of War. Yet surnish your Captives with Food, not sufficient for our need, but so much as may keep us alive to do you Service. If you please

"not to do this, yet vouchfafe to manumit us, and free your felves from the trou-"ble of burying your Slaves. If this neither may be afforded, kill us, deprive us not of an honest end; envie not to us the sweetest of all deaths, but with one Act deliver us from a thousand miseries. Bessas, and Conon told them, that to supply them with Victuall was not possible, to kill them was impious, and to let them go, unfafe. But they comforted them with an affurance of Belifarius, and an Army from Constantinople, and so dismit them. The Famine still grew, and destroyed, suggesting strange unnatural Food. At first Bessas and Conon, who had laid up in store a great quantity of Corn for the Souldier, retranched their own allowances, and fold Corn to the richer fort at huge rates; a bushel of Wheat for seven Gold Staters. Such whose Meanes could not attain to so costly feeding, paid a fourth part of the price, and had the bushell fill'd up with Branne, which their hunger made dainty food. An Oxe, such as Bessas Targetiers could get out and take, they fold for 50. Gold Staters. He was happy that could get a dead Horse to feed on. The poor multitude fed on Nettles, growing neer the Town Walls, and among the rubbish in the City; first seething them to avoid thinging. Such as bought Corn, and Branne, as aforesaid, when their money was spent, brought their Houshold-stuff to the Market-place, and exchanged it for a little daily food. In the end the Souldiers Corn being confumed, ( fave fome small quantity which Bessas had ) and the Romans money spent, they all fell to Nettles; which food not sufficing Nature, and there being of it not enough to fill their bellies, their flesh pined away, their colour grew wanne, and they lookt like fo many Ghosts. Many walking, with their teeth chewing Nettles, fell suddainly dead. They did eat also one anothers dung, and many, when they could find no more Dogs, nor Rats to feed on, killed themselves. One having five Children hanging importunately upon him for meat, made no shew to lament, but restraining his passion, he willed the Children to follow him, and they should have meat. When he came to the Bridge over the Tiber, tying his Cloak about his face and eyes, he leapt into the River, his Children and many more looking on. Afterward the Commanders, for money, fuffered fuch as would, to go out of the City; some few staid, the rest fled whether they could; the most of whom were so weak, that they dyed a Ship-board, or upon the high waies. Many the Enemy caught, and kill d. To this was reduced the Fortune of the People and Senate of Rome.

Isaac and John being joyned with Belisarius at Epidamnus, John advised to crosse the Jonian Gulse, and with the whole Army to try their Fortune by Land. But Belisarius liked it not; for more time would be spent, and some impediment might encounter them by Land. He would have John march through Calabria, and those Countries, to expell the Goths being sew there; and having subdued all on this side the Gulse, to joyne with him about Rome; where himselse purposed to land with the rest of the Army. He considered how the least delay would ruine all at Rome, and that in five daies with a wind they might land at Portus; whereas from Otranto thither, would cost the Army 40. daies march. So he hoist Saile with a strong gale, and came before Otranto. The Goths seeing them, instantly raised their Seige, and went to Brundusium, standing upon the Gulse, a daies journey from Otranto; with no Walls about it. They advertised Totilas of it, thinking that Belisarius would instantly passe the straits there; who prepared to encounter him, and directed the Goths in Calabria to guard the Passage there: But the wind coming faire, Belisarius lest Otranto, and the Goths were secure and quiet in Cala-

bria.

Totilas before Rome guarded the Avenues more stictly, to keep out Provisions. He made choice of a place about eleven miles below Rome upon the Tiber, where it is narrowest, and there laid a Bridge of Plancks, reaching from one Banck to the other. At either end he built Towers of Wood, and put good Garrisons into them, to impede the passage of Barks from Portus to Rome. In the mean time Belisarius landed at Portus, and attended Johns Army. John past over into Calabria, undiscerned by the Goths., who were all at Brundusium: He took two Scouts of the Enemy upon the high way, and having killed the one, the other took him about the knees. and besought him for mercy, promising to be usefull to him; John demanded wherein; he said, he would bring him upon the Goths unlookt for. John

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told him, he should not then faile in his request; but bad him first shew him where were any Horse-pastures,; The Goth promising that also, went along with him And first surprising the Enemies Horses at their Pasture, such as were a foot leapt on them, being many of the best men. Then they gallopt to the Enemies Camp, who being unarmed, unprepared, and amazed with the fuddennesse, were most of them cut off, using no resistence. Some few escaped to Totilas. John then animated the Calabrians, and reconciled their affections to the Emperour with faire promifes of many advantages. He staid not in Brundusium, but surprised Canusium, a Town in the middle of Apulia, five daies journey to the Westward of Brundusium, in the way to Rome. About three miles from this Town is Canna, where Hanniball gave that great overthrow to the Romans. Here Tullianus the Son of Venamins a Roman of great power in Bruttia and Lucania, complained to John of what the Army had done formerly against the Italians, and promised, if moderation were used hereafter, to reduce his Country-men to obedience and payment of Tribute; who revolted unwillingly to Barbarians and Arrians, forced by them, and extreamly wronged by the Emperours Army. John promised all favour from the Emperour to the Italians, and Tullianus went along with him, whence the Italians were no more jealous of the Souldiers, and the most part of the Country on this side the Jonian Gulse became Friends to them, and obedient to the Emperour. Torilas upon the newes hereof, fent 300. Goths to Capua; whom he directed, when they faw Johns Army march towards Rome, closely to follow it. Himselfe would take care of the rest: This stopt John, (fearing to be encompast by the Enemy) from marching further towards Belisarius; and he went into Brunia and Lucania. Recimund an eminent Goth, was placed by Totilus with some Goth, fugitive Romans, and Moores to guard Bruttia, and the straits of Scylla, and the Coast thereabout, and to hinder the landing of Boats from Sicily, & the passing over thither. John suddenly fell upon this Army between Rhegium and Bivona, and routed them using no resistance: They sled towards a Mountain hard of accesse and craggy. But John ran up with them, and before they could be fettled in the fallneffes, killed most of the Moores and Roman Souldiers, stoutly defending themselves, and took Recimund and the Goths upon composition. And having thus done, staid in the Country; while Belisarius lay still attending his coming, and blaming him for not adventuring to passe by a Garrison of 300. men in Capua, having with him the choice of the Roman Army. But John despaired of getting by, and lay quiet at Cervarium, a place in Apulia.

# CHAP. X.

O that Belisarius fearing some desperate resolution of the starving Romans, studyed meanes to Victuall the City. Forces he wanted to fight with the Enemy; but he did thus. He tyed two Barks together, upon which he built a Tower of wood, higher then those, which the Enemy had at the Bridge; having by some Souldiers, pretending to run away, taken the exact measure of them. He lancht into the Tiber also 200. Pinnaces, having Walls made of boards full of loop-holes, to shoot at the Enemy. Aboard the Pinnaces he put Corn and other Provisions, and towards the Rivers mouth in places of advantage, he laid Horse and Foot by either Banck, who were to impede the Enemy, if he set upon Portus; which he committed to the Guard of Isaac, with his Wife, and what he had there, directing him not to ftir, though he heard Belisarius were flain; but to keep close to his Guard, that upon any mischance, there might be a place of retreat; for other Fortrefles there was none, all the Country thereabout being their Enemy. Himfelfe aboard one of the Pinnaces, led the reft; and caused the two Barks with the Tower to be towed after. Upon the top of the Tower he put a Cock-boat full of Pitch, Rozin, Brimstone, and other combustible matter upon the Banck, whereis the way from Portus to Rome, stood the Foot. He had fent the day before to Before to make a general Sally, and to alarm the Enemies Camp. The like he had directed

him often before, but neither before nor now, would he perform his directions: for he had Corn yet for his own use left, sent formerly by the Governours of Sicily, fufficient both for the Souldier and the People. Of this he gave little to the people, but took most of it upon the account of the Army, and kept it to himselfe, selling it at huge rates to the Senators: So that he had no mind to have the Seige raised. But Belisarius rowed up the River with a strong stream against him: The Goths lying quiet in their Trenches. Neer the Bridge they came to a Guard of Enemies, and found an Iron Chaine fastned from Banck to Banck, which Totilas had put there, to hinder the passage to the Bridge. They shot, and killed some, and frighted !away the rest, then took up the Chain and rowed on to the Bridge, where they fell to work; The Goths, valiantly defending from their Towers, and many running in from the Camp. Then Belifarius brought his two Barks with the Tower on them close to the Enemies Tower, which stood into the water by the way from Portus. He caused them to fire the Cock-boat, and to shoove it down just upon the Enemies Tower, which instantly fell afire, and burnt with it selfe 200. Goths within it, and their Commander, one of the valiantest of the Nation. Mean while the Romans shot so thick upon the seconds which came from the Camp, that being also amazed at the Accident, they ran all away. The Romans laid hands on the Bridge, and had suddenly pulled it down, and gotten into Rome, none opposing; But Fortune was not so pleased. Some envious Damon plotted that, which ruined the Romans Affaires. The Armies being thus employed, the report (to the Romans mischiefe) came to Portus, how Belisarius had taken up the Chain, and killed the Goths there. Isaac could not hold, but would have his share in the honour; and fogetting Belisarius Commands, he went hastily to the other side of the River where Oftia stands, and with a 100. Horse of the men left him by Beli-Sarius, he charged the Enemies quarter commanded by Roderick a skilfull Souldier. And coming suddenly, he wounded many, and Roderick himselfe, and the Goths quitted their Quarter, either suspecting more to be coming after Isaac, or deceiving him, to surprise his Troops, which happened. For Isaac entring the Enemies Trenches, and fulling to pillage, the Goths returned, killed many, and took himselfe, and others Prisoners. Some Horse-men gallopt to Belisarius, and reported that Isaac was taken by the Enemy; Who astonisht with the newes, and not enquiring the manner, but thinking Portus and his Wife to be loft, and all ruined, and how no Fortresse was now left for the Army to retire to, he had not a word to say, a thing never happening to him before: And immediately he drew back his Forces, meaning to charge the Enemy unprepared, and by all meanes to recover the place; And thus the Romans retired without doing any thing. But Belisarius when at Portus he found the rashnesse of Isaac, and perceived his own Counsell perturbation, the vexation of it, and at the crosse Fortune put him into a Feaver, which afflicted him long, and brought him to deaths door. Two daies after Roderick dyed, which fo grieved Tetilas, that he put Isaac to death. But Bessas stil trading with his Corn, grew rich, hunger and necessity setting the prises for him. His whole thoughts were upon it, neglecting the Guard of the Walls, or any thing tending to preservation; and the Souldiers might be as negligent as they pleased. apon the Walls were small Guards, and those not attended. The Sentinels might fleep fecurely, none ever visiting them, to call them to an account, nor going the round, as is usuall. And the Citizens being few left, and they almost starved, would not keep any Watch. At last foure Isamians, who stood Sentinels neer Porta Asinaria, at the time of night, when their turn came to watch, and their fellowes to fleep, flipt down the Walls by Ropes tyed to the Battlements, and came to Totilas, undertaking to receive his Army into the City with ease: Totilas promifed many Favours, and to make them rich if they performed it, and fent two Soul-diers with them to view the place, where they faid the City might be entred. They came to the Wall, mounted the Battlements by the Ropes; not a man speaking, nor taking notice. Being there, the Isaurians shewed them how nothing would oppose their coming up, nor encounter them being up; which they bad them to report to Totilas; who though he was glad of the report, yet he could not trust them, being Isamians. Not many daies after they came again, urging him upon the same businesse, and he sent two others, who examined all exactly, and made

their report, agreeing with the former. In the meane time some Roman Scouts met ten Goths neer the City upon the high-way, whom they took, and brought to Bessas: Who by enquiry learnt of them, that Totilas hope was to have the City betrayed to him by Isaurians. Bessas and Conon made slight of the advertisement; and the Isaurians coming the third time to Totilas, and he sending others, and one of his own Kinred with them, and they reporting still the same, he resolved the enterprize.

# CHAP. XI.

HE same night he silently armed his forces, and led them to Porta Asinaria, willing four Goths valiant and strong to mount the Battlements with the 1-Saurians, at the houre when they were to watch, and the rest were to go to bed in their turns. They being gotten into the Towne, went to Porta A-sinaria without meeting any; and with their Battleaxes cut in two the Timber posts upon which the Gates on each fide hung, and wrench'd off the iron worke whereinto the Watch-men put their keyes to open and shut them : And so having set them open, they received in Totilas and the Army. Totilas drew all to one place, not fuffering them to scatter; affraid of some ambush from the Enemy. The City suddenly was full of tumult, and most of the Roman Souldiers fled with their Commanders out at another gate. Some took Sanctuary with other Romans in Churches. Of the Patricians, Decius, Basilins, and some others fled out with Bessus, having Horfes; But Maximus, Olybrius, Orestes and others fled into St. Peters Church. Of the commons remained but 500. men, who took Sanctuary alfo, the rest were all gone away, or starved. Totilas being told in the night, that Beff as and the Enemy were running away, fayd, they brought him very good news, and that they should not follow them; For what should please a man more then his Enemies running away? In the morning Totilas suspecting now no Ambush, went to St. Peters Churchto Prayer: But the Goths killed some in their way, about 26. Souldiers, and fixty Commons.

Totilas being in the Church, Pelagius came a suppliant to him with the Gospels in his hand, crying out, O spare, my Lord! your owne people. Now (quoth Totilas, scoffing) you come an humble Petitioner to me; Because God hath made me your

flave, replyed Pelagius. And now, O Master! spare your owne slaves.

Totilas wonne with his supplications, forbad the Goths to kill any more; but to make booty of their Goods, reserving the most precious for himselfe. They found much wealth in the Patricians houses, but most in the lodging of Bessas, who had heaped up those wicked prices of his Corn for Totilas: The Romans, even Senators, and Rusticians the Widow of Boetius, and daughter of Symmachus (a woman that ever laid out her Revenues upon the poor) went begging their bread of their Enemies; wandring from house to house, knocking at the doors, and craving sustenance without blushing.

The Goths indeavoured to put Rusticiana to death, for bribing the Roman Commanders to break down Theodericks Images, in revenge of her Husbands and Fathers deaths: But Totilas preserved her, and protected all the Women from the Souldiers insolence, who were eager to ravish them; but not one was abused: For which his

modesty Totilas got a great reputation. The next day he assembled the Goths, and spake thus;

"Fellow Souldiers! I call you together, not to make any new exhortations, but the same I have given formerly, and by entertayning which, you have found your greatest good: And do not now to this hearken carelessy. Advises conducting you to happinesse should never be tedious, nor many words seeme wearisome, ince the fruits springing from them must not weary you. I say then againe, that the other day we had 200000 valiant fighting men together, were masters of infinite wealth, had abundance of Horses, and other preparations, and many wise old men, who in Warre are of greatest use. Yet were we beaten by 7000. Greeks, and senselessy deprived of our Empire, and all things else. But now being reduced

to few, and those naked, poore, and unexperienced, we have vanquish'd the E-"nemy, being upward of 20000, men. The cause of this our successe I wil tell you. though you know it already. The Goths then not valuing Justice, acted foule wrongs upon themselves, and their Roman Subjects: Which moved God (as could not otherwise be ) to fight against them for the Bnemie : Whom wee exceeding in numbers, valour, and other preparations, yet were we beaten by an unfeen power. It is now in your power to keep your prosperity by keeping your justice. If you change, God will be your Enemy : Who affifts not this or that race, or Nation; but the men to whom Justice is precious: In him it is no labour to transferr profperity from one to another. Let man only resolve never to do wrong; To God all things naturally are in his free power. Observe therefore justice, and you shall for ever maintain your happineffe.

"Having faid thus to the Goths, he called the Roman Senators to him, and bitterly reproacht them; That having received benefits from Theoderick and Atala-"rick, been employed in all offices, managed the whole State, and made them"felves rich; they had proved ungratefull to their Benefactors, by unworthily re"volting to their own mischiese, and had betrayed themselves by bringing Greeks
"into their Countrey. He urged them to say, what hurt the Goths, or what benefit the Emperour Justinian had done them. They were deprived of almost all commands, wrung and tortured by the publique Tax-gatherers to accompt for their " carriages towards the Goths in the Treasury : And being spoiled by the Warr, yet

the Greeks made them pay their tributes, as in the times of Peace.

He objected many such things, as angry Masters use to their new made slaves. Then pointing to Herodian, and the four Isaurians: "You, quoth he, having been bred with us, could never yeeld up to us fo much as one forfaken Town: but thefe have received us into Spoletum, and Rome it selfe. Be you therefore in the condition of "Ilaves, and these who have been friends, and as Countrey-men to us, shall have

your offices.

The Patricians stood silent at these words: But Pelagins interceded for them, as men ruined and unfortunate, till Totilas promised mercy, and let them goe. He sent Pelagius, and Theodorus, an Orator of Rome, to Justinian, his Ambassadors, making them sweare to deale fairly, and to return into Italy so soon as they could: He in-structed them to perswade the Emperour to make peace, otherwise hee should be compelled to lay Rome flat with the ground, to kill all the Senate, and to bring the War into Illyrium; And he wrote letters to the Emperor; who had the news already of the successes in Italy. When they came to him, they declared their instructions from Totilas, and presented his letter, of this tenor.

"You are fully advertised what hath happened to Rome, I doubt it not. But my "reason of this Embassage is, to crave of you to entertaine the bleffings of Peace "your felfe, and to permit them to us. Whereof we have a faire precedent in Anastasina and Theodericke: Who reigned together not long since; but they filled "their Reigns with Peace and good things. If you be pleased to do the like, I will "call you my Father, and you shall have the Goths your Auxiliaries against whom

"you pleafe.

Instinian read the Letter, and heard the Ambassadors, but instantly sent them a-

way with this answer in writing to Totilas:
That he had made Belisarius absolute Generall in this Warr, who had ful pow-"er to manage all things concerning Totilas as he pleased. During this voyage of the Ambassadors to Constantinople, and back again, Tullianus in Lucania leavyed some Peasants, and guarded the Straits there, to hinder the Enemies entring to infest Lucania; With him were 300. Antians, left with him by John; being of all Barbarians the aptest to fight in a fastnesse. Totilas thought it not fit to employ all the Goths against them; But he fent numbers of Peasants in the company of some Goths, whom he commanded to attempt the passage. They fought, and much stirring there was, but by the valour of the Antians, and favour of the fastnesse, Tullianus in the end routed them.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XII.

Otilas hearing of it, resolved to demolish Rome, and leaving part of his army in some towne thereabout with the rest to go against fohn and the Lycanians. He threw downe about the third part of the walls of Rome, and was ready to fire the fairest, and most eminent buildings, and to make Rome a sheepe pasture; but Belifarius advertized of his intention, sent Ambassadors to him, and wrote him this Letter, 'It hath been the invention of wife men of old, " affecting civility, to raise goodly buildings; and none destroy them but some dull men, not ashamed to leave to posterity such a mark of their disposition. And of all ·· Cities under the Sun, Rome is confest to be the greatest and most famous; being not "the work of one mans virtue, nor arrived to this beauty and bigneffe in a small 'time. Many Emperours and excellent men, length of time, and excesse of wealth have drawn together materialls from all countries, and rare artificers, and ha-. ving fo by little and little built the City as you now fee it, they have filled it with "monuments of all their virtues, and the violence done to the same is an injury . committed against all mankind; taking from our progenitors the memorialls of "their worth, and from posterity the fight of such goodly works. Know then, that one of the two must be, either you will be vanquisht by the Emperour, or get "the better. If you be victorious, by having destroyed Rome; you have ruined, Great Sir, not anothers, but your own; by preferving which, you will be rich in " the goodlieft possession in the world. But if you draw the loosing lot; having preserved Rome, you have reserved abundant thanks from the conquerour: But "by destroying it, be reft your felf of all pretence to favour. And you will get no-"thing by it, but a fame in the world futable to fuch a proceeding, which attends "your Resolution herein either way. Whatsoever the actions of Princes be, such " are necessarily the name they must bear from them. Totilas upon often reading this Letter, and pondring the advise, forbare further harme to Rome. and fignifying to Belifarius his determination, he dismiss the Ambassadors: He encamped most of his army at Algidum, 15 miles from Rome to the Westward, to ly there and keep Belisarius fast in Portus, and himself and the rest went against John and the Lucanians. Some Roman Senators he led with him, and the rest with their wives and children he sent to Campania, leaving not a man in Rome. John hearing of Totilas coming, would stay no longer in Apulia, but ran into Otranto. The Patricians confined in Campania, sent commands by Terilas direction to their husbandmen of Lucania, to leave John, and to manure their Lands as formerly, which were declared to belong to their Landlords. Whereupon they for fook John, and went and lived peaceably at home. Tullianus also ran away, and his 300 Antians retired to Johns army. So all on this fide the Jonian Gulfe, fave Otranto, became again subject to Totilas: and the Goths grown bold, stragled about in small parties; John sent forces out, and kill'd many of them, which caused Totilas to unite his army about mount Gargarus, almost in the middle of Apulia, where he encamped in Hanniballs Entrenchment. In the mean time Martianus, a Constantinopolitan born, & one of the souldiers that escaped out of Rome with Conon, when it was taken, desired Belisarius that he might go to the Enemy, precending himself a run - away, and he would do good service. Belifarius approving it, Martianus went to Totilas, who was glad of him, having heard much of the young man, and feen him do bravely in some single combats : Presently he restored to him his wife a captive, and one of his children (there being two) but referved the other for a hostage, and he fent them with some others to Spole-tum, whereof the Goths had demolishe the walls after their taking it by Heredians Treason, and put a Garrison there of Goths and Romans fugitives, into the place used for the hunting of wild beasts ( called the Amphitheater ) which they had fortified. Martianus got some Associates, whom he perswaded to do some remarkable fervice, and fo to return to the Roman army, and to the Roman Commander in Perusia, he sent for forces, discovering his designe to him. Oldegandon, a Hunne, the commander there ( Cyprianus Being murder'd by one of his own life-Guard, as aforesaid) marcht with some forces to Spoletum; whom Martianus seeing, with the 15 Souldiers he had got to joyn with him, he killed the Captaine of the Goths Garrison, and received the Romans into the Fort; they kill'd most of the Enemies,

and brought the rest to Belisarius.

Who refolved thereupon to enter Rome, and with a thousand Souldiers he marcht to it. The Enemy at Algedon was advertized hereof by a Roman, and layed an Ambush neer Rome, which seeing, Belisarius set upon his troops, and a hot sight being the Romans valour routed the Enemy, who after the killing of most of them, retired to Portus. Upon the sea-coast of Calabria, stands Tarentum, two daies journy from Otranto, in the way to Thurium and Rhegium. John, invited by the Tarentines, went thither with some sew, leaving the rest in Otranto, the city he found great & unfortised, & conceived it impossible to man it. But finding to the northward of the City the sea to embay it self on both sides the Land, and to make it an Isthmus between, of two miles and a half broad; he cut the said Isthmus from the city with a wall and a deep ditch, and put in it the Tarentines and the inhabitants of some other Townes with a good Garrison. The Calabrians having gotten this refuge, thought of revolting from the Goths. In the mean time Totilas surprized Acheronics a strong Castle in Lucania, upon the confines of Calabria, and put into it a Garrison of 400 men. Then himself with his army went toward Ravenna, leaving some Goths in Campania, to Guard the Senators there confined.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Blt Belisarius undertook a design provident and bold, which seemed a kinde of madnesse at first, but proved a gallant work. He lest a small Garrison in Portus, and with the rest of his army he went into Rome with a resolution to hold it. He could not in so short a time repaire the walls, demolished by Totilus; but he heaped stones one upon another rudely, without lime or the like between, only to give it the form of a wall; without it he pitcht good store of stakes; And a ditch he had formerly made round about, as I said before. The whole army wor-

king cheerfully, in five and twenty daies the breaches were filled up.

The Romans from the townes about flocked thither, aswell desiring to dwell in Rome again, as to be supplyed with Victuall which they wanted, and found there in abundance, imported by Belisarius up the River. Totilas at the newes, went instantly thitherward; Belifarius having not yet fet up the Gates, which Totilas had broken down; and he for want of Artificers, could not build them again. The Barbarian Army encamped by the River of Tiber, and there lodged that night; the next morning they marcht furiously to the City-walls. Belifarius placed, where the Gates had stood, some of his best men, and commanded the rest from the Walls to maintain fight against the Assailants, and it was hotly fought; For the Goths, who hoped to take the Town at the first on-set, finding the businesse prove tough, and the Romans powerfully defending, grew angry, and their anger made them more ventrous. The Romans also held out beyond expectation, the danger inducing them to be valiant. The Slaughter was great of the Goths, being annoyed by shot from the Walls. Both the Armies toyled hard, the Fight beginning in the morning, and ending at night. When it grew dark, the Goths returned to their Quarters, and spent the night in dreffing their wounded men. The Romans kept Guards upon the Walls, and put the best men where the Gates had been, to guard by turnes, having pitcht before them many Triboli, that the Enemy might not ride in upon them. The Triboli, or Gall - traps are of this Fashion. They fit to one another the blunt ends of foure Iron sprigs, of equall length, whose right lines make a triangle every way. These they throw upon the ground, and three of them flick fast; the other stand upright, and hinders the approach of horse and men: and if by chance they be turned over, the point that stood up before, pitches into the Ground, and another gets up instead of it, hindring a charging Enemy. But the next morning Totilas again assaulted, and the Romans desended in their former order, got the better, and growing bold sallied; and some chasing the retiring Enemy far from the Town, the Goths fell to compasse them, and to cut off their retreate; which Belisarius perceiving, sent out some of his own company, who brought them off:

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And the Gaths repulsed, retired with losse of many of their best men, and carry. ing off many wounded. They kept close in their Quarters, dresting their hurt-men and mending their Armes (which were much spoyled) and making other preparations. Many daies after they affaulted again, and the Romans killed the Enligne bearer of Tailas, who being deadly wounded, and falling, threw away his Enfigne, The Romans in the Van ran for it, and to ftrip the dead body: But the Goths took up the Enfigne, and cut off the dead mans left Arme, and carryed it off, having rich Bracelet of Gold on it, which they thought would be an affront to them, if fome vaunting Enemy should weare it; And then they made a disorderly retreat The Romans followed the Execution a good way, stript the rest of the dead bodies, and came into the City without losse of a man. The principall Goths reproached Totilas something licentiously, for his unadvisednesse, in not demolishing all Rome when he took it, ( that no Enemy might hold it) or in not keeping it himselfe; but in thus ruining, what they had effected with much toile and time. Thus men ever tune their Judgments to the Events of things, and yelld up the same to the stream of Fortune, from thence taking quick and sudden changes of Opinion. The Goths, when Totilas prospered, admired him like a God; calling him unrelistible invincible, as they did before, when he fuffered them to destroy part of the Cities Walls which they took: But no fooner he received a blow, but they shamelessely raile on him, fogetting their former words, and contradicting themselves without reason. But such Errours being the effects of nature, it is not possible for men not to commit them. But Totilas raised his Seige, and went to the City Tibur, breaking down the Bridges upon the Tiber, that the Enemy might not charge him. Pons Milvius, a Bridge neer to Rome, they could not demolish. They re-built the Castle of Tibur, which they had cast down before, and kept themselves quiet within it, and all their Baggage. Belisarius set up the Gates of Rome at his ease, lining them with Iron; and he fent the Keyes again to the Emperour: And fo ended the Winter, and the 12. yeare of this War, written by Procopius.

Some Forces not long before fent by Tatilas straitly beseiged the Romans in Perusia, and finding that Victuall began to faile the besieged, they sent to Totilas to come with his whole Army to take the Town with more ease. But Totilas sinding the Goths not chearfully to receive his directions, he called them all to him,

and spake thus. "Fellow Souldiers, feeing you are caufelelly angry with me, and do pine at our "late croffe Fortune; I now call you together, to rectifie your Opinion, and to " fettle your Judgments aright; least you appeare not only unthankfull tome, "but foolishly to use ingratitude even to God himselfe. Humane things are sub-" ject to mischances, and he, that being but a man, yet takes such things in ill part, " shall necessarily be thought to want wit, and yet neverthelesse undergo the ne-"ceffity of his Fortune. I will put you in mind of former proceedings, not fo "much to excuse these now, as to shew that they ought rather to be commended. "In the beginning of the War Vitigis demolisht the Walls of Fanus and Pensar"rum, maritime Townes, letting Rome and all the other Cities in Italy fland un-"defaced. And from Fanus & Pensaurum we have had no inconvenience; but from "Rome, and the other fortified places, our Affaires have succeeded as you know. "When by your Gift I received this Government, I chose rather to follow the best "courses, then by the contrary to hurt you; fince naturally men differ not much, "but experience is it, which makes the good Schollers of her Schoole in all things "better, then they who learn not of her. So that taking Beneventum we threw "down the Walls, and were presently Masters of the rest, whose Walls we also "demolifit: That we might not have our Enemies ever iffuing from Fortrelles, " and making the War with Artifices, but to come directly to a Feild, and there to "fight it out. And there they ran away, and their Cities which I took, I disman-"telled, and you then were the Admirers, and Ministers of that my resolution, "and made the work (as it was indeed) your own; feeing he who commends
"a man for an Act, is himselfe an Actor. But now you are changed, fince a bold-"nelle without reason taken by Belisarius, hath succeeded; and now you are at-"fraid of the man, being so valiant. Indeed fool-hardy men are sooner thought to be courageous, then the provident, to be cautious. He that adventures more

Incipit Annus 13.bell. Goth. in ann. 21. Juftiniani An. Dom. 547.

"then the occasion allowes, is honoured yet with a reputation of seeming Valour ; "But he that upon a provident confideration is apprehensive of the danger, and "then failes, drawes upon himselse the blame of all that happens. And if it suc-"ceed well, unskilfull men will not think that he dath done any thing in it. Be-"fides, you confider not how you are offended with me, for what I rather may take "ill of you. Is it now only that Belisarius hath gotten honour upon you? Who "being his Captives, and fugitive Slaves, took Armes under me, and have gotten "the better of him in this War? And if by my virtue you have effected this, you "fhould be patient and confider in mischances, that nothing is made to be ever the same. And Fortune having adjudged to you the Victory, you shall do bet-"ter to reverence the same, then to be peevish against it; least it be offended, and "nach you a new Lesson of gratitude and better nature. For how can that be a good nature, that having lately attempted great Fortunes, and now failed in a "imal matter, is so poorly dejected? This is plainly to renounce your selves to "be men; for never to flip is peculiar to God alone. So that fetting by these "things, I say, that you are to go to Perusia, and to encounter the Enemy: If 'you conquer them, Fortune will cleare up again. No age can make that undone, which hath happened to us; but the memory of ill Fortunes is aswaged by the "arrivall of good. The getting Perusia will cost little labour; Cyprianus the Commander, Fortune and our Counsels have removed; and a multitude without a Governour, and without Victuals too, are no fit men to fight valiantly. None " shall infest your backs, I having beaten down the Bridges to prevent any sud-"den incursions. Belisarius likewise and John are jealous of one another, as may appeare by their Actions, (which ever convince the disagreement of minds) "they to this day having never joyned their Forces, by reason of their mutuall "jealousie. And that Guest whosoever hath, may be sure of hatred and envie in "the same lodging, which being intermingled, nothing can possibly be done that should be. Having thus spoken, he led the Army towards Perusia, and there fate down before it, preparing for a Siege.

# CHAP. XIIII.

N the mean time John besieged the Castle of Acherontis, and finding that he could do no good upon it, he fell upon a bold resolution, which preser-L ved some Roman Senators, and got much reputation to himselfe. While Totilas was busie before Rome, he took to himselfe a party of choice Horse-men, and concealing his intent, made a journey into Campania (where Tetilas had confined the Senators ) resting neither day nor night, that coming suddenly he might refcue the Senators, the Townes being altogether unfortified. Totilas before fearing this, and that by some Enemy he might lose his Prisoners, had sent into Campania some Forces of Horse; who being come to the City of Minturna, thought it best to stay there, and to rest their Horses, being weary with the journey. Some others Totilas had directed, (being men in much account with him, and about 400.) to view in what Estate Capua was, and the Townes about it; And the journey thither was but 37. miles, and the Horses of these and themselves were fresh and lusty. It happened that these 400, and John arrived at the same day and houre at Capua, not knowing of one anothers coming. Suddenly a gallant fight was performed, both parties falling to it at first fight, wherein the Romans had the absolute Victory, and killed many; some few of them got away, and gallopt to Minturna; whom the others there feeing all bloody, and some with Arrowes sticking in them, others not so much as telling them what had befallen them, ( so earnest they were to get away) and bewraying the feare they were in, they also leapt upon their Horses and ran with them for company: And coming to Totilas, they told him of innumerable Enemies, to fave the shame of their running away. Seventy Roman Souldiers then came into John, who were quartered in Campania; And some few Senators he found there, but almost all their Wives. For most of the men at the taking of Rome, were fled into Portus with the Souldiers, but all the Nn 2

Women were taken Prisoners. One Clementinus a Patritian, fled into a Church not accompanying the Roman Army; because having betrayed a Castle neer unto Naples to Torilas, he feared the Emperours indignation. Orestes also, who had been Confull, staid at his house for want of Horses to carry him away; John sent the Senators he found, and the 70. Souldiers into Sicily: But Totilas was vexed at this newes, and eager to have his revenge upon fohn; And he marcht against him, leaving only some of his Troops to guard the Camp before Perusia: John had encamped his 100. men in Lucania, and fent out some to discover upon all the waies, that the Enemy might not surprise him. And Totilas guesting as much, and that John would not lye in his Camp, without his Scouts abroad; left the ordinary wayes, and marcht over the Mountaines which were many, high and craggy, and thought unpaffable, that none would suspect his coming that way. Johns Scouts found the Enemy was thereabout, but no certainty they could learn; and fearing what came to passe, they rode back to their Camp, and with them arrived there the Goths in the night, Totilas being in a rage, and so not well advised, had the fruit of his impertinet anger. His Army was ten times greater then his Enemies; and it is evidently best for astronger Army to make an open fight; so that he should have charged the Enemy in the morning ( to take from them the benefit of the dark to hide themselves ) and so he had taken them all as in a net. But he giving way to his anger, set on them in the dark night. They used no resistance, being taken most of them afleep; yet the Goths killed not many, they having the means in the dark to Hip away unfeen, leaving their camp, and running up to the next mountains. John escaped amongst the rest, and Arufus, Captaine of the Herulians. Almost 100. Romans were flaine: There was with John one Gilacius an Armenian, commanding some few of his Countrey-men, who spake neither Greeke, Latine, nor Gothilb, but Armenian only; fome Goths lighting upon him, ask'd him who he was: (They forbare to kill any in the dark, left they might kill their owne ) He could make no other answer, but that he was Generall Gilacins, having learnt the title of his place in Greek, by hearing it often named. The Goths finding him an Enemy, took him Prisoner, and soon after killed him. John, and Arnfus with their troops gallop't amain to Otranto: And the Goths afterward pillaging the Romans Camp, retired. Things being thus in Italy, the Emperour upon the importunate letters of Beli-

farius, thought good to fend more Forces thither. First, he sent Bacurius, the sonne of Peranius, and Sergius, Solomons sisters sonne. who with some few came to the rest of the Army. Afterward he sent Verus with 300. Hernlians, and Varazes an Armenian with 80. Roman Souldiers. He caused alfo Valerianus, Generall of Armenia, from thence to goe into lealy with his guard of Lanciers, and Targettiers, being above a thousand men. Verus first arrived at Otranto, where leaving his Ships, and not joyning with Johns. Army, he rode forward with his men. He was no ferious man, but an excellive Drinker : and confequently rash, and unadvised. He encamped neer to Brundusium: Which Totilas hearing; Either quoth he, Verus is very throng, or very foolish. Let us go to him; either to make tryall of his power, or to make him fenfible of his folly. Accordingly he went against him with a great Army; But the Herulians seeing them, fled into a Wood, where the Enemy compassed them, and slew above 200. Verns and the rest were ready to be caught; but it chanced that Varazes and the Armenians came fuddenly to an Anchor upon that shore; and Totilas suspecting some great Forces aboard, rode away with his Army, and so they escaped, with much joy to the ships. Varazes put into Tarentum, whither soone after came John. The emperour had written to Belisarius of a great Army sent, with which he was to joyn in Calabria, and to give Battaile to the Enemy. Valerianus also was come neer the fonian gulle, but would not passe over, fearing that the Souldiers and their Horses would want provisions now towards the Winter tropick. He sent unto John 300. of his men,

and promifed in the beginning of the Spring to be with him.

But Belisarius upon perusali of the Emperours letters, chose of his best men 700. Horse, and 200. Foot: And leaving the Guard of the places about kome to the rest under Conon, he made for Sicily, thence purposing to put in at Tarentum. He lest at his lest hand the place called Scyllaum, where the Poets say, that Scylla did abide. Not that any such savage Woman was, as they tell it: But in that part are of old

many small rocks like whelps, and they are to this day called xiriaxis little Dogs. At first names were given thus to signific the things. Then same spreading them among men ignorant of the truth, caused many false conceits: And time at length became the powerfull Author of some fable, suborning, for Witnesses of things that are not, Poets by licence of their art. So anciently the Natives of Coreyra have called their Easter spromontory Cynocephale, the head of a Dog; Whereupon others would have the Islanders headed like Dogs. Some Pissains are called Lycocranics, not because they have heads like Wolves, but because the mountaines there are called xina xpayor the head of a Wolfe. But to return from whence I digressed.

Belisarius endeavoured to make directly for Tarentum. There is a coast in form like a halfe moon, the Sea embaying it selfe farre into the land; the compasse whereof being 125. miles, neer to the mouth of the Bay are Croton to the East-ward, and Thurium to the West, And about the middle of it is Tarentum. A storm being in their teeth, and the wind blowing high, and the waves being great, being unable to saile on, they cast Anchor in the Haven of Croton: Where Belisarius sinding no Fortresse neere, nor how to supply the Army with provisions, staid with his Wise and all the Foot, intending to send for Johns Army. His Horse he commanded to march higher, and to quarter themselves upon the entrances of the Countrey, giving them for Commanders Pharas the Iberian, and Barbation, one of his Life-guard; Thinking that so they might best get provisions for themselves and their Horses, and keep off the Enemy in sastnesses. For there the mountaines of Lucania reaching into Bruttia, and meeting at a strait, make two narrow passages; the one called in Latine Petrasanumis, the bloody rock; the other Labulla, or Lambula. Here by the Sea side stands Ruscia, where the Thurians ships ride. Seven miles and a halfe above this, the ancient Romans built a strong Castle, which John had long possesses.

# CHAP. XV.

HE Horse sent by Belisarius met Forces of the Enemy sent by Totilus to attempt that Castle: With these they fought, and though much inferiour in numbers, they routed them, and killed above 200. The rest ran away to Totilus with the newes. The Romans encamped in the place; and being ill governed, and victorious, lived carelelly, neither lying together in one body, nor keeping guards upon the two passages; but lodging too securely farr asunder, and all the day stragling for Provisions, without sending out Scouts, or advising upon any course of safety. Totilus being thereof advertised, went against them with 3000 chosen Horsemen: And coming unlooked for upon them, being in no order to sight, but stragling, he amazed and routed them. Pharas encountred the Enemy, and did valiantly; whereby some escaped, but himselfe, and his company were slain. This the Romans took grievously, having their hopes in these, being extraordinary good men. Barbation, of the Life-guard to Belisarius, ran away to Croton with the newes, reporting that the Geths would be instantly there. Belisarius exceedingly grieved, ran to his Ships, weighed anchor, and with a faire wind came the same day before Messina in Sicily, distant from Croton 87. miles, being right over against Rhegium.

About this time an Army of Slavonians passed the River Ister, and did infinite mischiese in Illyrium, even to Epidamnus, killing and captivating all and of all ages they found, and taking the spoile. They took many strong Castles, none to defend them, and ranged about every where without controule. The Commanders of Illyrium waited upon them with 15000 men, but never durst come neer them.

In that Winter were many terrible Earth-quakes in Constantinople and else where, all in the night; that the Inhabitants feared to be over-whelmed, but no hure was done. The Nile also swelled 18. cubits, drowning all Egypt: In the Contrey of Thebais, and the up-lands, the waters abated in the leasonable time, and gave the people meanes to sow, and husband the ground as was usuall. But they retired not

from the lower grounds at all, but covered them all the feed-feafon, which never happened so before: To some grounds the water returned again, and rotted all the feed put into the ground during the abatement. So that the people were much troubled with the strangenesse of it, and most of their cattle perished for want of food. The great Whale was then also taken, which the Constantinopoli ans called the Porphyrion. It had troubled them, and the Townes about them above fifty years at times; drowning Ships, and catching men from aboard, and carrying them away. Tustinian could by no endeavour get this Montter taken. But now a great number of Daulphins coming upon the mouth of the Euxine Sea, and espying the whale, fled from him, the most of them to the mouth of Sangaris, where the Whale overtook fome of them, and devoured them: But either hunger or anger provoking him to pursue neer the shore, he fell into the mud, where tumbling and striving, hee was more engaged; and the Inhabitants hearing of it, ran downe, and hewed him with their Axes; but not being able to kill him, they drew him ashore, with great ropes, laying him upon Waynes, and found him thirty cubits long, and ten broad. They cut him in pieces, and some presently eate them, others pickled them up. The newes of the over-flowing of Nile, and this Whale, added to the Earth-quake which they had felt, filled the Constantinopolitans with propheties of strange events; Men using still in present perplexities, and disturbances to make groundlesse conjectures of things to come.

But leaving footh-fayings, and the interpretation of prodigies; doubtleffe the flood lying so long upon Egypt, caused for the present much calamity; and the killing of the Whale was the riddance of a great mischiese; But some say it was not the

Porphyrion, but some other Whale.

But to return to my matter. Totilas understanding that the Romans in Rusciana were very scarce of Victuall, sate down close by it, to take it before it could be releived. And then ended the Winter, and the 13. yeare of this Warr, written by

Procopins.

When the Emperour fent 2000. Foot into Sicily, and commanded Valerianus inftantly to repair to Belifarius, He passing the Gulfe, found at Otranto Belifarius and his Wife Antonina, who then sailed to Constantinople, to entreat the Empresse Theodora for some better supplies to her Husband in this Warr. But she found her dead, having lived in the Empire 22, yeares, and three moneths. In the mean time the Garrison in Rusciana capitulated to yeild up the Castle about Midsommer, if in the mean time they were not succoured; provided they have no hurt done them. In it were many Italians, men of quality, and Theopheron, brother to Tullianus, and of the Romans 300. Illyrian Horse-men, whom John had lest there under Chalazar a Hunne, one of his Life-guard, and a very good Souldier, and Godilas a Thracian: Belisarius had sent 100. Souldiers to this Castle, who with those appointed by him to guard Rome, killed their Commander Conon, for selling the Corn and other victuals at Rome, to their prejudice. They sent some Priests to the Emperour, protesing, that if he granted not abolition of this fault, and payed them their arrears by such a day, they would immediately revolt to Totilas. The Emperour did what they desired.

# CHAP. XVI.

Be LIS ARIUS fent then for John to Otranto, and with him, and Valerianus, and a Fleet he had got together, he failed to succour Ruscianus. The Garrison there discerning the Fleet, took courage, and resided to yeild, though the day assigned were at hand. But a storm dispersed all the Ships, the coast being Harbour-lesse; and in the Haven of Croton they met all, and made for Ruscianus again. The Goths seeing them, leap'd on Horse-backe, and stood upon the shore to oppose their landing, set in front by Totilus against their fore-ships; some with their Lances, others with their Bows bent. The Romans seeing it, durst, come no neerer, but lay at hull far off in the Sea; And at length despairing, turned about

about to Sea-ward, and came again to an Anchor in the haven of Croton : Where they resolved in counsell, that Belisarius should make for Rome, and Victual it, as he could; and that John and Valerianus should land, and ride into Picenia, to impede the Enemies sieges of the Towns there; hoping also to draw Totilas towards them, with the raising of the siege of Rusciana. John with his Troops being 1000. men, did accordingly: But Valerianus was afraid, and by the fonian Gulfe failed for Ancona, thinking so more securely to get into Picenia, to joyn with John. Totilas raifed not his fiege, but fent 2000. felected Horfe-men into Picenia, to joyne with other Goths, and to beate away John and Valerianus. But the Garrison in Rusciana (their Victuall being absolutely failed ) fent Godilas the Lancier, and Theopheron the Italian to intercede for their lives, and pardon for their fault. Totilas promised it to all, fave Chalazar only; Who had formerly broken faith with him; & fo received the Cattle, and put to death Chalazar, cutting off his hands and privy members. The Souldiers that would, he kept in equal ranck with Goths, and left them their goods (as he used in all places) And such as would not, he dismist, stript, and unarmed, not defiring any to serve him unwillingly: And 80. of them quitted their goods, and came to Croton; the rest staid; of whom the Italians had their goods taken away afterwards, but no hurt was done to their persons.

Antonina finding the Empresse dead at Constantinople, besought the Emperour to send for her Husband home: Which she easily obtained, the Persian War pressing fore. In the mean time there was an attempt against the Emperours person, which began, and was deseated in this manner. Artabanes, who slew the Tyrant Gontharis in Affrick, was eager to marry Projecta, the Emperours sisters daughter; He was betroathed to her, and she affected the match; not for love of his person so much, as in her gratitude to a man, who had revenged the murder of her Husband Areobindus, and rescued her a Captive, and ready to be put into the loathed bed of Gontharis the Tyrant. Both thus consenting, Artabanes sent Projecta to the Emperour; and being made Generall of Africk, besought the Emperour with some pretences, to send for him to Constantinople; Hoping thereby to effect the marriage, and to get

many advantages, and even to put for the Empire.

Men thus getting fortunes which they looked not for, yet look still further; and soment their rising hopes, till they fall from the happinesse they have. The Empeperour granted his desire, and sent for him to Constantinople, and made another Generall of Africke, as is said in my former relations. And being a tall comely personage; liberall, and of sew words; the Constantinopolitans loved him, and admired him for his deeds. And the Emperour respected him with the best, made him Generall of the Forces in Constantinople, and Commander of the Consederates, and enrolled him a Consull. But he could not marry Projecta, by reason he had a former Wise, his Country-woman, whom he married young, and shook of long before upon some exceptions for slight matters, wherein women offend their Husbands. And she, while Artabanes fortunes were not yet made, sate quiet at home; But he being grown famous for his Actions, and great in his fortunes, she would suffer no longer the dishonour; but became sutor in Constantinople to the Empresse for her Husband to be restored to her. The Empresse, ever inclinable to affish distressed women, brought her to live with her Husband, much against his will: And Projectawas married to John, the sonne of Pompey.

Artabanes was wild at this misfortune; and that having done so great service to the Romans, they had not onely barred him from his betroathed Wise, but pur him to lead his whole life with a woman that hated him; the greatest vexation which the soule of man can suffer. And so soon as the Empresse was dead, he presently sent away his Wise. Germanus also, the Emperours brothers forme, had a Brother named Boraides; Who was lately dead, leaving his main estate to Germanus and his sons, and to his own only daughter, so much only as saw compelled.

This daughter the Emperour protected, which troubled Germanus.

There was also in Confrantinople Arlaces, an Armenian of the race of the Arlacides, and kindred of Ariabanes. This man was taken lately in a inhantest practice of Treason with Chosroes, King of Persia. The Emperour punished him onely with some sew tashes upon his back, and made him ride through the City upon a Camele taking nothing from him, nor so much as banishing him the Court. Yet was he discontented

contented for what befell him, and he devised mischeif against the Emperour and the State; finding likewise his Cozen Artabanes discontented, he provoked him more, surprizing him with cunning words, and chiding him. "That he was grown " a coward and effeminate in an unfit time. He was valiant to rescue others, and to " pull down Tyrants, and had killed without any provocation Gombaris his freind, " and feaster. But that now he lay still poorly and heartlesse; while his country lan-"guished under a perpetuall Garrison, and unusuall taxations, having lost his Father "treacherously slain under colour of a Treaty, and having his kinsmen made "flaves, and scattered through the whole Roman Empire. Yet Artabanes (quoth "he) thinks it enough to have a Roman Generallship, and the bare title of a Consul, "and me your kinsman you can behold suffering base things, without condoling "with me; but I pitty noble Sir your own sufferings in both your wives, both her "you have loft, and her you must live with. And surely there is no cause nei-"ther upon deliberation nor fear, that can discourage a man from killing Justinian, "who fits, at midnight without his Guards, discoursing with some old Preists, and "busie in endlesse scanning the Christians Oracles. None of his kinsmen will oppose you Germanus the most powerfull, and his Sons, young men inraged against " Justinian, (I verily think) will joyn with you; that so the businesse will even do it "felf. For they have been more wronged by him then we, or any Armenian. Arfaces with such inchantments as these, finding Artabanes yeilding, imparted the matter to one Chanaranges; a Persarmenian, a handsome youth, but nothing serious; and having brought him and Artabanes together in the same resolution, he left them, promising to draw Germanus and his Sons into the plot.

#### CHAP. XVII.

USTINUS, the elder of them, was young (his beard newly iprouting) but valiant and sharp witted; and not long before was made Confull. Arfaces went to him, telling him, that he would willingly meet him in a certain Church. Being met, Arfaces prayed him to assure him by oath, that he would not reveal their conference to any but to his Father. When he had fworn accordingly, he fell to chide him. 'That being the Emperours neerelt kinsman, and seeing Pettifog-'gers and common fellowes holding all the great offices, himself at these years would 'endure so long the affaires to be managed by mean men. That the Emperour did 'not only despise him, but even his Father, a man attained to the height of virtue; 'and fuffred fustinian his Brother stil a privat man. That he could not get the estate of Boraides his Uncle, who had made him his heir by his will; but was deprived of the 'most part of it : and he would despise them more, so soon as Belisarius was re-'turned out of Italy, who was reported to be in the midst of Illirium. With such allega-'tions he incited fustinus, and discovered the conspiracy between him, Artabanes and Chanaranges. The young man was amazed and troubled to hear him, and plainly told 'him, that neither himself nor his Father could ever joyn in such an Action. Arfaces reported the successe to Artabanes, and Justinus acquainted his Father with the difcourse, who communicated it to Marcellus, Captain of the Palatine Guards, and 'demanded his opinion if he should reveal it to the Emperour: Marcellus was a grave, austere man, of few words, an Enemy to jestings, and loose fashions, of a rigid life, 'and a stranger to all pleasures; but precisely just, and a zealous Lover of Truth.He would not have the matter revealed to the Emperour as yet. You (quoth he) to be the Informer, is not convenient. Upon your least private conference with the Emperour, Artabanes will suspect his plot to be discovered, and then Arfaces running away, you will remain without proofe. And my felf never use to beleive any thing before punctually examining it, nor to report it to the Emperour. I would gladly hear the discourse my self, or that some of mine might hear the men speaking clearly in this subject. This advise Germanus bade his Son Justinus to put in Execution: Who having so flatly denyed Arlaces, would not speak of it to him again; But he askt Chanaranges, if by the privity of Artabanes, Arfaces lately came to him. I durst not, quoth he, to such a man, open my self; but if you have any thing to say

in it, we will advise, and happily may do sometning. Chanaranges after conferring with Artabanes, told fustinus as much as Arfaces had done, and fustinus promised all he defired, and to draw in his Father. And a day was appointed for Germanus to conferr with Chanaranges, and Germanus entreated Marcellus for some confident of his to be an ear witnesse of Chanaranges. He fent Leontins who married the daughter of Athanasins, a right honest man, who would be sure to report the truth. Him Germanus placed in his dining roome behind the hangings, and himself with his Son fustimus staid in the roome, where Leontins heard Chanaranges plainly declaring the conspiracy between himself, Artabanes, and Arfaces. Then they fell to discourse, that if they should kill the Emperour while Belisarius was upon his way, their defign would not fucceed; for if they should make Germanus Emperour; it was likely that Belifarius would come against them with an army, which he might levy in Thrace, and they should not be able to keep him off. It were better to defer the aftion till the coming of Belifarius, who being in Constantinople, and with the Emperour in his Palace, they might enter at evening fuddenly with their daggers, and kill Marcellus and Belisarius, together with the Emperour, and fo manage their busi-nesse as they pleased. Marcellus being hereof advertized by Leontius, yet forbare to report it to the Emperour, least with too much haste he might unadvisedly ruin Artabanes. But Germanus revealed it to Buzes and Constantianus, fearing, that which hapned, to be suspected for his delay. But Belisarius afterward being reported to be neer at hand, Marcellus revealed the Treason to the Emperour; who caused Artabanes and his Complices to be committed to the common Prison, and to be examined by some principall Officers. The conspiracy being manifest, and reduced into writing, the Emperour fummoned the Senate to the place within the Palace appointed for hearing causes. They, albeit they heard the plain confessions of the Prisoners, yet had involved Germanus, and Justinus in the crime; if the Testimonies of Marcellus and Leontius had not cleered them: who deposed, and Buzes also and Constantianus, that Germanus had hid nothing from them, but demeaned himself, as aforefaid. So that the Senat aquitted him and his Son, as having in nothing offended the State: But coming to the Emperours chamber, the Emperour stormed, and was much inflamed against Germanus, for his slownesse in the discovery; and two principall Officers seconded his opinion to please him, and they seemed much offended with Germanus, and to kindle more the Emperours anger, being officious to ingratiate themselves by other mens miseries. The rest stood amazed without a word speaking; yeilding, by not opposing. Marcellus only saved him by speaking truth, taking the blame upon himself, and urging vehemently, that Germanus discovered it to him timely, but himself fearching more narrowly into it, revealed it with the latelt. And thus he pacified the Emperour, and got a great fame for using his virtue in a time of fo great need. Artabanes the Emperour removed from his office, and did him no other harm, nor any of the rest; they were restrained, but not dishonorably, nor in the common prison, but in the Palace.

The Barbarians at this time were cleerly masters of all the West, and this Gothick war was now come to this, that the Romans who at first won all afore them, had now consumed their men and money to no purpose, had lost Italy, and stood looking uppon Illyrium, and Thrace, shamefully wasted by Barbarians their next borderers. In the beginning of this war, the Goths gave to the Francks all Gallia, subject to them, being not able to fight with both, as I have faid. This the Romans hindred not, but Instinian confirmed the Gift, that he might not be crost by a war from these Barbarians; nor would the Francks have thought their possession sure, if the Emperour had not put his Seal to the Act. Hereupon the Kings of the Francks got Marfeilles, a colony of the Phoceans, and all the Sea townes, and were Masters of that Sea: And now they fit in Arles, beholding the horse races there, they coyn Gold Staters out of the Gold mines in Gaule, not with the stamp of the Roman Emperour (as the custome is ) but with their own Images. The King of Persia coynes filver monies as he pleases, but it is not lawfull for him, nor any King of Barbarians to put his own stamp upon a Gold Stater, though he be a greater Master of Gold; for fuch money they cannot put away, though they trade with Barbarian Merchants. But the Francks seeing Totilas prevaile, seized the most part of Venetia; the Ro-

mans had no power to resist, nor the Goths to make war upon both.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

HE Gepades also took Syrmium, and almost all Dacia, so soon as Justinian had taken them from the Goths; making the Romans their Captives, and going still onward spoyling the Roman Provinces; so that the Emperour paid them no more the Pensions they anciently received of the Romans. To the Lonbards also he gave the City of Noricum, and the strong places in Pannonia, and other Townes, and great sums of Money, who thereupon left their own Country, and planted by the River Ister neer unto the Gepades: and pillaged likewise Dalmatia, and Illyrium, to Epidamnus; leading the People Captive: of whom if any chanced to run away, and get home, these Lombards being in league with us, freely ranging in the Roman Provinces, and discovering any of these Fugitives, laid hold of them as their Slaves, and haling them from their Parents, led them back with them without any opposition. The Hernlians also had given them by the Emperour places in Dacia, neer the City of Singidon where now they inhabit, and from thence over-run and spoile Illyrium and Thrace: Some of them turned Roman Souldiers, and were rancked with the Confederates. And these Hernisan Ambassadours, when they come to Constantinople, receive their full Pensions, without much attendance, notwithstanding they ransack dayly the Roman Subjects. And thus all these Barbarians shared among them the spoile of the Empire.

Not long after the Gepades, and Lombards, being Neighbours, became Enemies, and a day was appointed for a pitch-field between them. The Lombards inferiour in numbers, and holding themselves to be over-matcht, resolved to invite the Remans to aide them in the Battell; the Gepades also having truce with us, were desirous the Romans would joyne with them, or stand neutrall: And both of them sent Ambassadours to Justinian for aide. Thorisis was then Prince of the Gepades, and Audonin of the Lombards. The Emperour heard their Propositions, not toge-

ther, but severally. The Lombards having first accesse, spake thus.

Great Emperour, we are amazed at the impertinency of these Gepades; who having acted so many great wrongs upon your Dominions, come here to offer 'the foulest scorne that can be, in thinking you easie to be deceived, and so coming to make use of your simplicity. But we desire you Sir, to consider their inten-'tions in this friendship; so will you deale the more securely for your Empire, and judge more fafely of the Future by what is past. If their ingratitude had been ' shewn only to other Nations, you might expect from us long discourses, and forreigne teltimonies to convince them thereof. But you have the experiment ' now even in your own felves. The Goths formerly held all Dacia tributary, whom the Gepades dwelling on the further fide of the Ister fo feared, that they never 'durst attempt to passe over the River. But being in truce with the Romans, and their great Friends, and in that Title receiving large yearly Pensions, as well from former Emperours, as your felfe; what Services have they done you for the same? 'They can alledge not one. When they knew not how to wrong you, their dilability, not good intent, kept them quiet. Beyond the Ifter you would not meddle, and from this fide the feare of the Goths restrained them. And can disability be called gratitude, or good nature? Can a firm Friend be known, while he wants power to transgresse? No Sir, It is a mans power only that expresses his nature and intentions, good or bad; his ability to do what he lift, laying his disposition to the publick view. For these Gepedes no sooner saw the Goths gone out of Dacia, and you busie with your Enemies, but the wicked wretches intruded every 'where upon your territories. Their basenesse herein what words can expresse? 'Have they not despised the Roman Empire? broken the sacred Lawes of Truces, put scornes upon their Benefactors, and violated that Empire, whose Slaves they 'would be proud to be, if you had any leifure for them. They hold Syrmium, 'and vaunt all Dacia to be theirs; in what War having been ever victorious, either for you, with you, or against you? or of what Battell having made that Province the prize? Nay, being ancient Mercenaries, and receiving your Mo-' nies, as hath been said. Then, a more lewd proceeding then this Ambassage of

theirs was never. Now when they fee us quarrelling with them, they have the face to come to Constantinople, and to the Emperours presence, whom they have 'so much abused; and peradventure' in their aboundant impudence will intreat 'your aide against us, who have shewed our selves so affectionate to you. If they come to restore what they have unjustly intruded into, you must impute it to the Lombards, the chiefe Causers of their repentance; a constrained feare of whom, hath put on them this form of gratitude: And if you receive the benefit, you must thank those who made the doing it necessary. But if now neither they will 'part with what belongs not to them, what an excesse of ill nature is this? Let this suffice, O Emperour, to be spoken in a Barbarian simplicity, with words not reaching the matter. And do you, Sir, weigh well, what hath been uttered more 'scantly then the occasion requires; and do that which may be best for the Romans, and your own Lombards; confidering also, that you shall do well to joyne with us, who are of the same Orthodoxall Religion; and to oppose these, being Arians. The Lombards fo spake, and the next day the Gepades Ambassadours were brought to the Emperour, and faid in this manner. It is right and fit, O Emperour, for men demanding aides, first to shew, that they ask things reasonable and just, and good for those who are to aide them, and so to speak what concernes their Ambassage. It is plain therefore, that we are wronged by the Lombards, in that we have endeavoured to end our differences in a course of 'justice; and we striving to have a legall way, cannot be faid to use violence. And that the Gepades exceed the Lombards in multitude and goodnesse of men, what 'need many words to them that know it? And we think no wife man will run 'into evident danger, by fiding with the weaker, when he may get a Victory by joyning with the thronger. The Gepades moreover will affift you against your Enemies, upon obligation of gratitude for what you now shall do for them, and with the greatnesse of their power are likely to make you Masters of your Foes. 'Consider also, that the Lombards are but lately in amity with you; but the Gepades are of your ancient acquaintance and allyance; and Friend-ship grown with time is not easily dissolved. It is good for you therefore to make us your Confe-'derates, being both powerfull, and firm to you. These just reasons may draw you 'to this Confederacy; but fee the dispositions of these Lombards. Being intreated to end the quarrell legally, by no meanes they will confent, out of a groundleffe 'over-weening. But the War being ready for a Battell, now they shrink, being 'conscious of their own weaknesse, and sy to you, importuning you without rea-'fon to fight for them. And these Theeves alledge, to provoke you to a War, our 'holding Syrmium, and fome other places in Dacia: Whereas in your Empire 'are so many Cities and Countries, that you feek for men upon whom to bestow 'some of them to dwell in. To the Francks, to the Herulians, and these Lombards 'you have given fo many Townes and proportions of Land, that they eannot be 'numbred. And we being bold in your Friend-ship and Favour, have done what your felfe would have to be done. And who foever hath a mind to part with a 'thing, esteemes him the worthier man, who from a free Spirit is aforehand, and of himselfe takes the benefit, then him that gets it as a courtesie; if the Giver set 'the valuation of the thing fo, as not to infult upon the Receiver; but as being bold upon him, as of an affured Friend: Which is the case of the Gepades with the Romans. And which you taking into confideration, we defire you in the first place to joyn your powers to ours against the Lombards, according to the Leagues with us; and if not, to stand neutrall. By thus advising you shall do justly, and 'expediently for the Roman Empire.

#### CHAP. XIX.

But I Justinian after a long consultation herein, dismiss the Gepades with a refusall, and swore a League with the Lombards; And he sent them 10000. Horse under Constantianus, Buzes and Aratius, assisted by John lately come out of Italy, who by the Emperours direction was to return into Italy with his Troops, so soon as the Battell with the Gepades was fought. There were also with them 1500. Herulians, commanded by Philimuth and others. The rest of the Herulian Forces being 3000. and lately revolted from the Romans (as I have said formerly) were on the part of the Gepades. Some of these led by Aordus their Princes Brother, a party of the Romans marching to the aide of the Lombards met, routed them, and killed Aordus, and many more. But the Gepades understanding the Roman Army to be neer, compounded the quarrell with the Lombards, and a Truce was concluded without the Romans; who being thereof advertised, were troubled, being not able to go on, nor to return back: and they seared least the Gepades and Herulians should make a joynt in-road into Illyrium, and spoile it. So they lay still, and advertised the Emperour. Thus much by way of digression, con-

cerning thefe ocurrents.

But Belisarius was now returning to Constantinople, with no honour. In five yeares space he never marcht up into the land of Italy, made no expedition, but was all the while in a perpetuall flight, failing from one strong Sea-Town to another, which gave the Enemy meanes to captivate Rome, and all the rest. He abandoned Perusia, the chiefe City of Tuscany, which was taken by affault while he was in his way home. Being come to Constantinople, and now grown extream rich, and much respected for his former Victories, he made his continuall aboad there. Before his Voyage into Africa, God gave him a cleer prefage of his good Fortunes. He had Land in Panteichion, the Suburb of Constantinople, right over against the City; where immediately before his expedition against Gelimer, and Africk, his Vines were very full taken, and many Veffels were filled with the Wine thereof, which had their bottomes buried in the ground, and their tops fast closed with Clay in the Wine-Cellar. Eight months after the Wine workt out of the Veffels. forcing out the Clay, and made the Cellar a puddle. The Servants wondred at it, filled many Flaggons with it, and stopped up the Vessels again, and concealed the Accident. But the same happening often, they acquainted their Master withit; and he shewed it to divers of his Friends, who divined from thence much happinesse to be coming to his House. This thus happened to Belisarius. But now Vigilius, Bishop of Rome, and the Italians at Court being many, and of good quality, befought the Emperour to vindicate Italy with all his power. Above all Gothigns pressed him, being a Patrician, and late Consul, and newly arrived at Constantinople for this purpose. The Emperour promised to take care of Italy, but he spent the most of his time about the Christians Controversies, endeavouring to settle the

During this War Ildiges, a Lombard, came with forces as far as to Venetia, upon this occasion. Vaces, late Prince of the Lombards, had Rifinlphus his Brothers Son, who by the Law was to succeed him; but Vaces plotting the Succession for his own Son, charged Risinlphus with some groundlesse Crime, and banished him. Rifiulphus fled to the Varnians, leaving two Sons behind him: These Barbarians Vaces hired to kill Rifinlpus; and one of his two Sons dyed: but Ildeges, the other, fled to the Slavonians. Not long after Vaces dyed, and the Government came to Valdarus, his Son; who being a Child, Audovin was made his Protector, and attaining thereby to great power, he got the absolute Government to himselfe: And shortly after the Child dyed. When the Lombards and Gepades were in War, Ildiges brought to the Gepades fuch Lombards as followed him; and many Slavonians, hoping that the Gepades would restore him to the Government. But when the Truce was made, Andonin demanded Ildiges of the Gepades, now his Friends. They would not betray him, but they bad him be gone, and fave himselfe. He with his own followers and some few Gepades went again to the Slavonians, and from thence marcht towards Totilas with about 6000 men; And in Venetia meeting

Romans

Romans led by Lazarus, he killed many of them; yet would not joyn with the Goths, but passed the Ister again, and retired to the Slavonians. About the same time also Ilauf, one of the Lite-guard to Belisarius, and Valiant, being lest in Italy, revolted to Totilas, who sent him immediately with a Navie, and Forces into Dalmatia. He at Monecurus, a Town upon the Sea neer Salone, at first was familiar with the Townes-men, as a Roman, and appertaining to Belisarius: But suddenly he put them all to the Sword, and sack the Town. The like he did at Laureata, a Castle upon the Sea Coast. Claudianus, Governour of Salone, sent Forces against him in Pinnaces; who at Laureata fought with the Enemy, and had the worse, ran away, and lest their Pinnaces in the Haven; which Ilauf took, together with other Ships laden with Corn and Provisions; and having killed and spoiled all they found, he returned to Totilas: When the Winter ended, and the 14. yeare of this War,

written by Procopius.

Afterward Totilas with his whole Army besieged Rome, where Belisarius had lest three thousand of his best men under Diogenes, one of his Lifeguard, a discreet man, and a good Souldier. And the fiege lasted long; the besieged with the advantage of their valour matching the whole Goths Army: Diogenes also diligently attending his Guards, and by fowing corne within the Walls, preventing want of Victuall; and valiantly repelling the many affaults of the Geths, who being mafters of Portus, absolutely blockt up Rome. Instinian also (Belisarius being returned to Constantinople ) intended to send another Generall with an Army; which if he had done, he had certainly vanquisht the Goths; Rome being in his obedience, and having an Army there to joyne with his Succours from Constantinople. First he commanded Liberius, a Patrician, to be in readinesse; then other businesse intervening, he grew cold. After a long time spent in the siege of Rome, some Isaurians, who guarded Saint Pauls Gate, discontented for want of pay for many yeares, and seeing the advancement of their Countreymen, who formerly betrayed Rome to the Goths, and the wealth they had gotten, came to a secret conference with Totilas, and agreed at a day assigned to betray the City to him. At the day Totilas launched into the Tiber, about the first watch of the night, two small Vessells with Trumpetters aboard; whom he directed, having rowed up neer the City walls, to found their Trumpets. Himselse closely put his Army in readinesse neer unto Saint Pauls Gate; and to prevent the Romans flipping away to Centumcella ( the onely Fortreffethey had left thereabout) he layd ambushes upon the way, to cut them off as they fled.

Incipit Annus 15. bell. Goth. in ann. 23. Juflinianie An. Dom. 549.

#### CHAP. XX.

HEY in the small Vessells being come neer to Rome; sounded their Trumpets, as they were directed: wherewith the Romans amazed, fuddenly in feare and tumult left each man his Guard, and ran to succour there, where they suspected the Enemy would assault. Onely the Isaurian Traytors continued upon their Guard, opened the Gate, and received in the Enemy. Much flaughter there was; & many ran out at other Gates, and in their way to Centumcella fell upon the Enemies ambushes, and were cut in peices. Some few hardly efcaped; and Diogenes himselfe, after receiving a hurt. Panlus a Cilician, who had at first commanded Belisarius his Retinue, and now commanded a Party of Horse, had the guarding of Rome committed to him with Diegenes; and the City being taken, ran with four hundred Horse to Adrians Tombe, and possess the Bridge leading to Saint Peters Church. The Goths Army at break of day gave on upon thele men; whom the Romans sustained, had the better, and killed many, being crowded in a narrow place. Totilas hereupon stayd the fight, and besieged them, thinking to take them by Famine. Paul and his four hundred endured that day, and all night without eating. The next day they thought of feeding on their Horses, but being loath to meddle with fuch uncouth food (though much pincht with hunger) late in the evening they fell to debate it, and exhorted one another valiantly rather to

end their lives by an honourable death; charging the Enemy suddenly, and killing as many as they could : So they imbraced and kissed one another, as being instantly all to perish. Tetilas was affraid of men resolute to dye, least dispairing of their owne fafety, they might do some desperate mischeife; and he sent to them, of two Propositions to chuse, either to quit their Horses and Armes, and to sweare never more to serve against the Goths, and so to returne to Constantinople; or keeping what they had, to serve with the Goths in equall condition. The Romans glad of the Proposition, at first chose to go to Constantinople; but afterward, as ashamed to march away on foot, and unarmed, and fearing to be cut off by ambushes in their way, murmuring also for their many yeares arreares owing to them by the Roman Treasury, they joyned with the Goths Army. Paul onely, and one Mindes, an I-Saurian, befought Totilas to send them to Constantinople, having Wives and Children in their Countreys, without whom they could not live. Whom Totilas commended for dealing plainely, and gave them provision for their journey, and a Convoy. The rest of the Army being in Churches about three hundred, took assurances and yeilded to Totilas. Who would not now demolish any more of Rome, nor quit it, but intended to plant there Goths and Romans together, both Senators and others, upon this occasion. He had lately demanded of the King of the Francks his Daughter in marriage; who rejected the motion, faying, That he neither was, nor ever would be King of Italy, having taken Rome, but not able to keep it, having demolished part, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. So that now he brought in Provisions, and commanded to re-edifie what was beaten downe at his first taking of Rome. And he fent for the Roman Senators, and other Romans confined in Campania; held the folemnity of the Circensian Games, and then prepared for a Voyage into Sicily: He put in readinesse four hundred small Vessels for a Sea-fight, and many great Ships fent out of the East by the Emperour, and taken by him with their men and ladings. He fent also Stephanus a Roman his Ambassador to the Emperour, desiring Truce, upon condition, that the Goths should serve him against any other Nation. But Justinian suffered not the Ambassadour to come into his presence, nor regarded the Proposition: Which Totilas understanding, prepared first to attempt Centumcella, and then to go into Sicily. Diogenes commanded the Garrison there, being reasonably strong. The Goths besieged it, and Toilas sent to Diogenes, either to put it to a Battell instantly, there being no hope of succours from the Emperour; of whose disability to continue War with the Goths, the successe at Rome, after so long space given, was a sufficient Argument; or else to chuse either to joyn with the Goths Army upon equal tearmes, or to quit Centumcella, and to go safe to Constantinople. Diogenes and the Romans refused the Battell, neither would mingle with the Goths Army, nor live without their Wives and Children; And chusing to be sent to the Emperour, they said, they had yet no honest excuse to surrender the Town; and therefore desired time to signific their Estate to the Emperour, that receiving no succour from him, they might render the Town, and be gone, not without some pretence. Totilas approving this, 2 day was affigned, and 30. Holtages were given on both fides; and the Goths railed the Siege and went for Sicily. Before they passed the straits there, they attempted Rhegium, where the Garrison was commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, left by Belisarius; who having many good men within, kept off the Enemy affaulting, and fallying had the better; but being inferiour in numbers, they afterward lay still. Totilus blockt up the Town with part of his Army, hoping in time to take it for want of Victuall. He sent also Forces, who took the Castle of Tamerature. rentum: And at the same time the Goths in Picenia had Ariminum betrayedto them. Justinian hereof advertised, made Germanus his Brothers Son, absolute Generall in the Warre against the Goths, commanding him to be in readinesse. The Goths in Italy were much troubled at the report of it, ( Germanus being very tamous in the World.) And the Romans, especially the Army, getting hart and hope, held out more firmly against their toiles and dangers. But the Emperour (I know not why ) changed his mind, and appointed Liberius a Citizen of Rome for the Service; who made himselfe ready, add was expected instantly to faile away with the Army. But the Emperour changed again, so that he too staid at home. Then allo Verus having gotten together many of the valiantest Souldiers, had a Battell with the Goths in Picenia, not far from Ravenna; wherein after the losse of many, and doing valiantly, himself was slaine.

#### CHAP. XXI.

BOUT this time a party of some three thousand Slavonians came over the River Ister, none opposing them, and past the river of Eurus: then they fevered eighteen hundred in one party, and the rest in another. The Roman commanders in Illyrium and Thrace fought with them severally, and were beaten, with loffe of some men, the rest shamefully running away, though the Barbarians were far the fewer. They incountred also Asbades, who had been of the Emperours Life-Guard, and advanced to the place of a Candidate, and who commanded now troops of horse anciently Garrison'd in Tzurulum, a Castle of Thrace, good men. Him the Slavonians defeated, and killed most of his men shamefully running away: They took him prisoner, and soon after cut thongs from the skin of his back, and threw him into a slame of fire: Then without controlle they pillaged all Thrace, and Illyrium, and took many castles, having never before assaulted a wall, nor prefumed to come to an open feild. They never durst before this time forrage the Roman Territory, nor ever past the Ister before. But after their victory against Ashades, they pillaged all to the Sea, and took Topirum, the first Sea Town of Thrace, by assault, having a Garrison in it, being distant twelve dayes journey from Constantinople. They took it thus. The most of them hid themselves in the faltnesses neer the Town; and some few alarm'd the Romans upon the battlements; who thinking them no more then they faw, fallied: The Barbarians seemed afraid, and ran away; and the Romans being far from the Walls, the Ambushes rose, and put themselves between them and the Town: and the flyers turning head, the Romans were charged on all fides, and all cut in peices.

The inhabitants deprived of the Souldiers, yet refisted the Enemies assault, as they tould, powring down boyling oyl and pitch, and throwing down great stones, that they had almost beat off the danger: But the Barbarians with a multitude of arrowes forced them from the battlements, and with their scaling ladders took the City by affault. They killed fifteen thousand men in it, and fackt it. The women and children they made flaves, having formerly spared no age nor sex but killing still all they met from the time they entred Roman Land. So that all Thrace and Illyrium was scattered with dead bodies unburied; they killed not the people with Swords nor Lances, nor in any usuall manner; but they pitcht stakes into the Ground with sharp ends upward, and set the poor wretches upon the same at their fundaments; then forced them downwards, and the stakes up into their Entrailes. They stuck into the Ground atfo four posts, to which they tied their prisoners hands and feet then knockt their heads with clubs, and killed them like fo many Dogs, or Snakes. Others they shut up in houses with such cattell as they could not drive home into their country, and without mercy burned them together. In the end, being drunck with abundance of bloud, both the parties of these Slavonians were pleased to make prisoners

of those they met, and so returned home with innumerable captives.

In the mean time the Goths affaulting Rhegium, were bravely beaten off by the Garrison, Thursmuth doing very valiantly. Totilas understanding that their victuall grew scarce, lest part of his army to block it from provisions, and so to compell the Garrison to yeild in time; and himselfe crost the straits into Sicily, and set upon Messia. Domenticlus the commander, sisters Son to Buzes, sallied, and had not the worse in sight; but afterward kept themselves quiet within the walls, and the Gaths plundred all Sicily, none resisting them. In the mean time Thursmuth and Himerius in Rhegium, (when their victuall was all gone) yeilded themselves and the Castle by composition to the Enemy. The Emperour, at the newes of these successes, gather'da sleet, & put an army aboard of foot, under Liberius, whom he required to sail with speed for Sicily, and to save the Island. But Liberius being an extream old man, and no souldier, the Emperour repented, and sent Artabanes for Sicily, remitting his crimes, and making him Generall of Thrace. He gave him no great forces, but directed

Magifrum mi-Thraciam, An ordnary officer: his imployment now was for the time only.

directed him to command the fleet with Liberius. Afterward he fent to call home Liberius, and again made his Nephew Germanus absolute Generall against the Goths. giving him no great army; but furnishing mony for him to raise an Army of good importance in Thrace and Illyrium, and from thence to march into Italy. He commanded Philimuth, Leader of the Herulians, to accompany him into Italy, and John, Vitalianus his Nephew, who had married the daughter of Germanus, and was

Generall of Illyrium, where then he resided.

Germanus was ambitious to get the honour of vanquishing, the Goths and the good fortune to recover both Affrick and Italy to the Empire. In Africa where Storzas had usurped, he overcame him and the mutiners unexpectedly and reduced the Province as it is in my former relations. And Italy being now reduced to the Estate I have described, he desired the Glory of recovering that also His wife Passara being long since deceased, he married Mattasuntha, Daughter of Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theoderick, her former husband Virigis being late. ly dead. He hoped that the Goths would be ashamed to lift their armes against this Lady, remembring the Reignes of Theoderick and Atalarick. Moreover freely difburfing the Emperours mony, and his own more, he levied quickly, and unexpected ly a very gallant army. The best Roman Souldiers left their ordinary commanders (whose Lanciers and Targettiers they were) and followed Germanus; together with many Constantinopolitans, Thracians, and Illyrians; wherein Institutes and Instinianus his Sons used much care and diligence. He pickt the best out of the horse Troops, garrison'd in Thrace, and many Barbarians about the Ister were drawn by the fame of Germanus, and brought much mony with them, and joyned with the Roman army. The Prince of the Lombards promifed to fend him a thousand men well armed. Report as in all human things, made all this in Italy much more, and the Goths were afraid, and troubled withall, to make war now against the posterity of Theoderick: And the Roman fouldiers there, fent to fignifie to Germanas, that fo foon as they faw him in Italy, and his army intrenched, they would immediatly joine with him. The remainder also of the Emperours army in Ravenna, and some other Towns, took courage, and refolved to guard their Towns firmly for the Emperour. Nay, those who had been beaten with Verns and others, and went now stragling, hearing that Germanus was upon his way, they rallied themselves in Istria, and staid for the said army. Totilas then at the day assigned, sent to Diogenes to surrender Centumcella, according to the capitulation. Diogenes answered that he had no power now, Germanus being declared absolute Generall, and not far off with his army; and he defired him to fend him his hostages, and he would restore those given by the Goths, and so he dismist the messenger, and carefully guarded the town, expeding Germanus and his army. And thus the winter ended, & the 15 year of this war, written by Procopius.

Incipit annus 16 bell. Gotb. in an. 24 Juniani & ann. dom.550.

While Germanus was drawing his army together, and exercising his Troops at Sardice, a City in Illyrium, and making a powerfull preparation for this warr, 2 Troop of Slavonians, greater then ever formerly, past the Ister into the Roman territory, and came to Naysum: The Romans took some few straglers of them, bound them, and askt them upon what design these Slavonians were come over the River? They faid it was to fack The salonica, and the Towns about it. The Emperour upon this advertizement, wrote to Germanus to defer his Journy into Italy, and to defend The Jalonica, and to beat away the Stavonians; who grew afraid when they heard from their prisoners that Germanus upon this staid still at Sardice, whose fame wasgreat among all the Barbarians upon this occasion. During the Raign of Justim, his great Uncle, the Antians, who inhabite next unto the Slavonians, past the Ister, and invaded the Roman territories with a great army. Germanus was lately made Generall of Thrace, and in a battell with these Enemies killed them almost all, which got him a great reputation, especially among these people. So that fearing him now, and supposing him to have a very great army, as being fent against the Goths, they forbare their intents against The falonica, and went over the mountaines of Illyrium into Dalmatia, not daring to appear in the Champian. And Germanus despising them, directed his army to be in readinesse, within three daies, to begin the journy into Italy; but he fuddenly fell into a ficknesse, which made an end of him. And so was Germanus quickly lost; a vertuous man and very valiant; both an excellent Generall, and a daring Souldier. In peace and prosperity a constant observer of Lawes and good Government: He was a most upright Judge, and to men in need he lent great Sums, without so much as talking of any Interest. In the Palace and in the Forum severe and stern, but at home and at his Table pleasant, free, and gracious, where he had power: he prevented the Errours and innovations of the Emperours Court: And he never consented nor conversed with the mutinous Veneti, and Prasini, Constantinople, though many great men ran into that absurdity. The Emperour was much grieved at this sudden Accident, and commanded John Vitalianus his Sisters Son, with Justinianus, one of the Sons of Germanus, to lead the Army into Italy. They went into Dalmatia, meaning to winter at Salona, it being not possible in that season to compasse the Jonian Gulfe into Italy; and they wanted Ships to crosse;

#### CHAP. XXII.

IBERIUS, who heard nothing of these alterations, put in at Syracuse; besieged by the Enemy. He forced his way into the Haven, and put his Army into the City. Artabanes also at Cephalenia, hearing how the Fleet with Liberius was gone for Sicily, crost the Adriatique Sea thither-ward; and neer the Coast of Calabria, met with a great storm full in his teeth, which so scattered the Fleet, that he thought most of his Ships to be cast upon that Coast, and in the hands of the Enemy But a strong gale turn'd them back into Pelopones and some were cast away, others escaped. The Ship wherein Artabanes was, lost her main Mast, and being abandoned to the Tide, and Waves, and in much danger, put in at the Island of Malta, and by this meanes he was unexpectedly preserved. But Liberius being not in case to fally, nor fight with the Enemy, and the Victuall in Syracuse failing, stole from thence into Panormus. Totilas in the mean time ransackt all Sicily, carryed away great quantities of Corn, Horses, and Cattell, and putting the same aboard his Ships, and the whole wealth of the Island, returned suddainly into Italy upon this motive. He had made one Spinus of Spoletum his Affessor, who residing in Catana, an unfortified Town, was taken by the Romans. Totilas delirous to ransome him, offer'd for him an eminent Roman Lady; but they refused to take a woman in exchange for a man, holding the Dignity of Quastor. Spinns, fearing to perish among the Romans, promised them for his liberty to perswade Totilas to leave Sicily, and to transport his Army into Italy. They upon his Oath for true performance, restored him to the Goths, and accepted of the Lady. He being come to Totilas, faid; "That the Goths further stay in Sicily was to no "purpose, having already pillaged the Island: That he understood for certain among the Enemy, that Germanus was dead; and that John his Son-in-Law, and " Justinianus his Son were in Dalmatia with the Army, levied by Germanus, and "immediately to come into Liguria, who might take all the Goths Wives and "Children Prisoners, and pillage their Goods; whom they should do well to op-"pose, by wintring securely at home, and if they vanquish them, they shall with more ease fall again in the next Spring upon Sicily, not expecting hostility. Totilas upon this advise left Garrisons in foure strong Townes, and past into Italy with all his Booty.

John and the Emperours Army meant to winter at Salona, and from thence with the first of the Spring to march by Land to Ravenna. But the Slavonians, both those who formerly forraged the Empire, and others, spoyled again with sull liberty the Provinces. Some suspected Totilas to have hired them, to divert the Emperour with new businesse from putting the Gothick War into a better order. But whether to gratise Totilas, or otherwise, certainly these Slavonians did desperate mischieses in Europe, dividing themselves into three parties, & not sacking Townes, but wintring in them, as in some Province of their own, and fearing no Enemy. The Emperour sent at last an Army against them, under Constantianus, Aratius, Nazares, and Justinus the Son of Germanus, and John Phagas, and other Captaines; & made Scholasticus an Eunuch of his Palace, Commander in chiese. This

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Army met one of the Barbarian parties about Adrianopolis in the mid-land of Thrace, five daies journey from Conftantinople. The Barbariam being cloggd with an innumerable booty of men, Cattell, and other Wealth, durit not come on And the Romans, though eager to fight, diffembled it. The Staromans were en camped up on a Mountain, and the Romans in the plain; who there believed them; till the Souldiers murmuring at their Generals, that they had plenty of Provisions themselves, while the Common Souldier wanted Food, and so they delayed to fight with the Enemy; the Generals were constrained to come to a fight; which was hotly fought; But the Romans were beaten, and many of their best men flain; and the Generalls escaped narrowly with the reft. The Enfigne of Confiantianus the Stavonians took. And now despising the Roman Army, they went on and forraged the Province called Africa, or Suburbana, which was never forraged before; So that they found great Booty in it. They pillaged in many places of the Country, and came up to the Long walls, a daies journey from Constantinople. But the Romans fought afterwards with part of them, routed them, and after much flaughter rescued great numbers of Roman Captives, and recover'd the Ensigne of Constantianus. The rest with the remainder of their Booty went home-ward.

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THE

## HISTORY OF THE WARRS

of the Emperour

# JUSTINIAN.

Of the GOTHFCK VVarre, the Fourth BOOK:

#### CHAP. I.

Y discourse hath hitherto been distributed and accommodated to the severall places where the actions were done, and is publish throughout the whole Roman Empire. But now I cannot compile the same in that manner, nor insert into a History already publish succeeding Occurrents; but must write in this Tract apart, touching these Enemies, and the Persians, what hath happened since the Edition of my History; and so the discourse thereof cannot be but mixt. The Occurrents untill the fourth yeare of the Quinquenniall

Lessation between the Romans and the Persians, were formerly related. The yeare following a Persian Army invaded Lazica, under Chorsanes a Persian, and an experienced Commander, accompanied with Alans. This Army encamped it selfe in a Province of Lazica, named Mucheirisis, by which the River of Phasis runns, not navigable there, but to be past by Men and Horses; and they entrenche to the

right hand of it some distance off.

OBut that the Readers may have a cleer notion of Lazica, and of the people about it, and not converse with things obscure to them, like men sighting with shadows: I have thought it seasonable here to discourse, what kinde of people dwell upon the Euxine Sea; conceiving, that the Ancients who have written thereof, have not handled it exactly; speaking of Tzanians, whom they make to border with the Trapezuntians, and name solchians; and calling the now Lazians by another name; being in both millaken. For the Tzanians are high in the Land, and border upon Armenia, having steep Mountaines in the way to it, a vast and desare Countrey, deep Torrents, and Hills thick with Wood, and unaccessible Valleys;

all which are between them and the Sea. Nor can the Colchians be other then the Lazians, feeing they dwell now upon the Phasis. They have onely changed their name, as many other Nations. And since those Writers many ages have innovated much, by the transplantations of people, and successions of Princes, and altered their names. All which I am to take notice of, omitting both fabulous and old obsolete things; as upon what part of the Euxine Sea the Poets bound Prometheus, (Histories and Fables being different workes) but to set downe punctually both

names and things notorious in those parts.

This Sea begins at Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and ends in Lazica. Within it on the right hand is Bithynia; then Honorias, and Paphlagonia, where stand Heracha and Amastris, Maritime Townes. Next to them are the Pontick Nations, to the borders of Trapezond, where are Sinope and Amisus, Sea townes; not far from Amisus is Themiscyrus, and the River Thermodon, where they say was the Amazons Campe; of whom more anon. The territory of Trapezond reaches to Sufurmana, and Rizaum, which stands upon the coast in the way to Lazica, two days journey from Trapezond. In all the Territory of that City of Trapezond the Hony is bitter: To the right hand of these Cities are the Mountaines of Tzanica; beyond which is the Roman Armenia. From those Mountaines descends the River of Boas, through infinite Thickets, and a Woodland Countrey, into Lazica, and disimbogues into the Euxine Sea; then it quits the name of Boas, and takes that of Acampsis, because it bends not, nor yeilds to the current of the Sea. For the stream is so strong and troublous, that running farr into the Sea, the Ships sayling that way keep off at Sea, not able to hold on their course, and cut thorough that Iwift streame.

Next to Rizaum are Mountaines dividing Lazica from Roman Land, and inhabited by free Nations, and a Village called Athens; not so called from a Colony of Athenians (as some suppose) but from Athenaa, in ancient time Lady of that Countrey, whose Tombe remaines to this day. Next to Athens is Archabis, and Apfarus an ancient City, three dayes journey from Rizaum, in old time named Ap-Syrtus, from a man of that name flaine by the plots of Medea and fason neer unto that place; but many ages and fuccessions of men have corrupted the memory of that act, and changed the name into Absarus; on the East fide of which City stands yet the Tombe of that Apfyrius. It was anciently very populous, and hadercellent Walls, and a Circus, and a Theatre, and fuch other Ornaments of a great City. But of those antiquities nothing now remaines but the Pavements: By this it appeares strange, that any should affirme that the Colchians were borderers to the Trapazuntians. For may fason be thought not to have fled home into Greece with Medea and the Golden fleece, but to have gone the quite contrary way to the Phasis and furthest Barbarians. In the Raigne of Trajan some say a Roman Legion was there garrifoned even to Lazica, and Suania. But now the Inhabitants are subject neither to the Roman Emperour, nor King of Lazica: But onely that being Christians, the Bishops of Lazica, appoint them \* Preists. They are in amity with both, and convoy their Ambassadors to each in small Barks, which they use; but to this houre they will pay tribute to neither. To the right hand of this Countrey are steep craggy Mountaines, and a Desert reaching very farre: Above it is Persarmenia, and the Roman Armenia, reaching as farr as Iberia. From the sayd Ab-Jarus to the City of Petra, and Marches of Lazica, is one dayes journey, where the Euxine Sea ends; which Sea makes there a halfe Moon, and the paffage croffing the fame is about fixty nine miles.

All behinde the end of the Enxine is Lazica, next to which is Senmia, and Sunia, both subject to the Lazians. They have Princes still of their owne Nation; but when any of them dye, the King of Lazica appoints another in his roome. On one side of this Countrey are the Meschians, reaching almost to Iberia, to which they have been anciently Subjects, and dwell upon the Mountaines, which are not wilde nor barren, but abound with all commodities, and the people are good hubbands, especially for Vines: Over this Countrey hang very high Mountaines, thick with Wood, and hard to be past, extending almost to the Cancasean Mountaines. Beyond them Eastward is Iberia, reaching to Persarmenia. Between these Mountaines descends the Phasis, springing from Mount Cancasea, and disimboguing into

\* Or Bishops

the middle of the fayd halfe Moon at the end of the Enxine, whereupon some hold that it divides the two Continents, having As on the left hand, and Europe on the right. On Europe fide are the Lazians dwellings, having on the other fide no Towne nor Fortresse but Petra, lately built by the Romans. The Countrey people hold that the Golden Fleece was kept on Europe side, but in my opinion they are mistaken: For Jason had never gotten away with Medea and the golden Fleece unesped by Eetes; if the Kings Pallace, and Houses of the Colchians had not beene separated by the River from the place where the Fleece was kept; which may appear also by the Poems written on that subject. The Phasis (as I have sayd) thus enters into the further end of the Euripe, and at one point of the sayd halfe Moone stands Petra on Asia side: Over against which, on Europe side, is Applia, a Countrey of the Lazians; the people whereof are Christians, as all the rest before mentioned.

### CHAP. II.

Bout Apfilia stands Mount Cancasus, so high, that neither Raines, nor snowes touch the top of it, being higher then any Clouds. From the midst to the foot, it is perpetually covered with the Snow; the foot of this Mountain being as high as the very ridges of other Mountaines: Some parts of the said foot of Caucasus run out to the West, and North-ward, even to Illyrium and Thrace; other parts of it to the East and South-ward, reach to the two straits which let in the Hunnish Nations upon the Romans and Persians: The one of the straits is called Tzur, the other is called the Caspian Gates. The Country extending from Mount Caucajus to the Caspian Gates the Alans hold, subject to none, but as Confederates they serve the Persians, against the Romans, and all the World. Under Mount Caucasus dwell the Sabirian Hunnes, and some other Hunnish Nations. From hence, they say, issued the Amazons, and made a Camp at Themisoy-rus, by the River of Thermodon; neer where now stands the City of Amisus. But now no Monument is left of any Amazons in the Countries about Mount Cancalus. Strabo and some others have spent much discourse about them: But they feem to speak most truly, who think that there was never any such Mannish race of Women; nor that Nature, in Mount Cancasus only, swerves from its sacred Lawes; but that the Barbarians of those parts, making an expedition against Afia, brought their Wives with them, whom they left in a Camp neer Thermodon: And that themselves over-running much of Asia, were encountred, and so deseated, that none escaped to the Camp; and that there the Wives being put to it by the seare of the People adjoyning, and by their want of Victuall, put on mens faces, and ar-med themselves with furniture left behind by their Husbands, and with the same performed some commendable Actions, compelled by necessity, till they were all flain. This is my Opinion, and that the Amazons were Wives who went to War with their Husbands; the experiment whereof hath happened in our time. And commonly the addictions which descend to Posterity, are the Images of those which were before. For the Hunnes, in their in-roads upon the Romans often coming to a Battell, wherein some of them were slain; and the Romans searching the dead bodies, have found Women among them. Other Armies of Women were never, neither infesting Asia nor Europe. Neither was it ever heard that the Caucasian Mountaines had all their men wasted at any time. And so much touching the Ama-

Beyond Apsilia, and the other point of the aforesaid halfe Moon, is Abassia, to the Caucasian Mountaines. The Abassians were formerly subject to the Lazians, and had two Princes of their own Nation; one seated in the West, and the other towards the East. They did worship, till my time, Groves, and Woods, and in a Barbarian simplicity esteemed Trees to be Gods. But they suffered much from the covetousnesses of their Princes; who took violently from the Parents such Children as were beautifull, and made them Eunuchs, and sold them to the Romans at great prices; then killed the Fathers, least they might revenge their Childrens abusing.

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and

\* Or Bishops.

and that they might not have suspected Subjects. And thus the poor Wretches were ruined by the fatall handlomenesse of their Children: And hereby most of the Bunnehs of the Imperial Palace were Abasgians. But in the now Raigne of Austinian all hall been changed for the Abasphans to the milder and more will They have received the Christian Religion, And the Emperour fent Emphrata his Ennuch expressly to admonish their Princes, to force out no more the visitive of humane nature with Iron, and the Abalgians, bold upon this injunction of the Emperour, have opposed that course; which made it formerly their greatest feare to be Fathers of handsome Sons. The Emperour also built for them a Church dedicated to the Mother of God, appointing them \* Priests, and causing them to be in fracted in the Christian rites. They also deposed both their Princes, and became a free State. Beyond the Abafgians towards Mount Caucafus are the Bruchians, and the Alamans. Towards the Sea Coast are the Zecchians, to whom anciently the Roman Emperour gave their King, but now in nothing they obey the Romans. The Country of the Sagines is next, wherein formerly the Romans built two Caffles upon the Sea-coast; Sebastopolis and Pityus, distant from each other two daies journey, and there put the first Garrison of Souldiers in those parts. Before, the Roman Cohorts were Garrison'd by the Sea-side, from Trapezond to the Sagines, but then held only these Castles, where were Garrisons till my time. But Chofrees, King. of Perha (the Lazians having drawn him into Petra) intended to fend an Armyto Surprise those Caltles; and the Romans within them hearing it, burnt them, and threw down the Walls, and fled to the opposite continent by Sea to Trapezond, whereby they damnified indeed the Romans, by demolishing those Castles, but they prevented the Persians from being Masters of the Country; who forth-with

went back to Petra, without doing any thing.

Beyond the Sagines are many Hunnish Nations in a Country called Enlysia, possessed by those Barbarians in the Maritime and mid-land parts thereof to the Lake of Maotis, and River of Tanais, which disembogues into the said Lake, and the Lake into the Euxine Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called Cimmerians, but now Uturgurians. Beyond whom to the North-ward are innumerable races of Antians: where the Lake begins to disembogue, are the Goths, called Tetraxites, observers of the Christian Religion, no men more. The Natives call this difembogure, Tanais, which reaches from Meotis to the Euxine, and running along 20. daies journey; and they call the wind which blowes from thence, Tanaites. These Goths whether they were Arrians, as the other Gothish Nations, or other-wise instructed in Christianity, I cannot say, nor do themselves know; but they professe the same with much simplicity, and without disputes. Lately they sent source Ambassadours to Justinian, for a Bishop to be given them, as to the Abassians: And the Emperour dismist them with satisfaction in what they defired. The said Ambassadours in their publick audience, exprest no other cause then that, for searc of the Hunnes: But being admitted privately, they acquainted the Emperour with what might advantage the Romans (all Barbarians having ever some piques with their Neighbours.) The planting of these Tetraxites in that Country was thus. Anciently multitudes of Hunnes, then called Cimmerians, kept their Heards in the same, and were governed by a King. One of their Kings had two Sons, named Uturgur, and Caturgur, who after their Fathers decease, divided the Kingdome, and gave their names to their feverall Subjects; and they are yet called Uturgurians, and Caturgurians. They have all the same addictions, and converse not with the Nations dwelling on the other fide of the Lake of Maotis, and the Cimmerian straits, fearing the passage, though very easie, because they never had tryed it. On the faid other fide neer unto the shore of the said Lake and straits, were formerly seated the Tetraxite Gaths, and not far from them the Goths, and Visigoths, and Vandales, and all the other Gothick Nations, anciently named Scythians, as all the other Nations of those parts, with some difference in some of Sarmatians, Melan-clanians, and other names. These People have a tradition, if it be true, that some Cimmerian young men hunting a Stag, it took the water; and that they either eager upon their sport, or driven by some Spirit, sollowed the Stage to the opposite thore: where the same (whatsoever it were) suddainly vanisht, as having appeared to no other end, but to bring a mischiefe upon the Inhabitants there. The voung young men, (they say) though they mist their game, found matter for warre and booty. And returning home told the Cimmerians, how the passage was fordable; who instantly took armes, and in multitudes past over to the other side. The Vandles were gone before, and seated in Affrica; and the Visigoths were in Spaine. So they fell upon the Goths, who dwelt in the Champian, killed many, and chased away the rest. Such as escaped past the river Ister with their wives and children into the Roman territory, where they did much mischeif. Afterward the Emperour planted them in a country of Thrace; and sometimes they aided the Romans in the quality of Consederates, receiving yearly pensions: whereby it appeares, that the Goths came not as men conquer'd, but upon the articles of a League, (The Romans calling Leagues after a war, Fædera.) Sometime also they made causelesse war upon the Romans, till under Theoderick they removed into Italy.

#### CHAP. III.

Ut (as I said) the Hunnes having slain many of them, and driven away more, possest their country: And the Caturgurians sent for their wives and children, and are planted there to this day; receiving from the Emperour yearly penfions, yet passing continually the River ister, and over-running the Empire, being both confederates, and Enemies. The Viurgurians returned home with their Prince, where still they remain. They past the Cimmerian straits again against the Goths, wasted, as aforesaid: Who at first stood fenced with their sheilds against the Enemy in battell, being confident in their power, and the strength of their country: And themselves are the valiantest Barbarians in those parts; and the straits (where about dwell these Gaths) from the Entrance out of the Lake of Maotis prelently spreads into a Bay, imbracing most of those people, and hath one only narrowpaffage over. The Hunnes meant not to spend much time there; and the Goths could not hope to hold out long against such a multitude; so they came to a Capitulation, that the Goths should go over and dwell with them in the opposite Continent, (where now they are ) and be in perpetual League with the Uturgurians upon equall tearms. Thus the Caturgurians hold the other fide of the Lake, and the Veurgurians their former country, never troubling the Romans; but secluded by many nations, they observe an unwilling peace. Beyond the Lake, and the River Tanais, the Caturgurian Hunnes have a large country, all beyond that way, is possest by the Scythians and Taurians: part wherof is yet named Taurica, where stood the Temple of Diana, of which Iphigenia, Agamemnons daughter, was cheife Preist. The Armenians fay, that that Temple stood in Celesene, a country adjoyning to them; and that the Inhabitants thereof were then called Scythians; grounding themselves upon that which I related formerly concerning Orestes, and the city of Comana. Thus many things happening other-where, or peradventure no where, men are fond to attribute to their owne countries, and are angry if all men yeild not to their con-

Next to the aforesaid Nations is Bosporus, a maritime city, lately become subject to the Romans. From Bosporus to Chersone a maritime City also, and formerly subject to the Romans, all between is possess by Hunnish nations. Cepi also, and Phanaguris, two cities, were formerly under the Romans, almost untill our time; but the neighbouring Barbarians took, them and utterly ruined them. From Cherson to the mouth of the Danuby, or Ister, is ten dayes journey, all inhabited by Barbarians.

The River Ister springs from the mountaines in Gaule, and skirting by Italy, and descending through Dacia, Illyrium, and Thrace; it disembogues into the Euxine Sea. From the mouth of the River Ister unto Constantinople all belongs to the Roman Emperour. This is the whole circuit of the Euxine Sea, from Chalcedon to Constantinople. How many miles it containes, I cannot say; so many Barbarians inhabiting the coasts (with whom the Romans have no commerce, unlesse it be upon Ambasages) and they who formerly pretend to have taken the measure of it, not speaking exactly. Certaine it is, that from Chalcedon on the right hand side of the Euxine

Qq2

ine, to the River Phasis is two and fifty daies journey; and one may conjecture that the other fide differs not much.

And here I think it not unfeasonable to set down the dispute among the Learned, concerning the bounds of Afia and Europe. Some think the River of Tanais doth fever these two continents, and alleadge that division to be naturall. For the Sea coming from the western lands to the Eastern; the Tanais, from the North crosses between Europe and Afia; and the Egyptian Nile, from the South between Afia and Affrick : others reject this reason as weak, saying, that the straits of Calie distinguishes at first these two continents, and that the Mediterranian still leaves Africk and Asia on the right hand, and Europe on the left, till it come to the Ends of the Euxine Sea. But the Tanais springs in Europe, and disembogues into the Lake of Maotis, and the lake falls into the Euxine, not into the end of it, nor into the middle; but further. Now all to the right hand of the Euxine is attributed to Afia. Moreover the River Tanais springing from the Riphaan mountaines, which are confelt by themselves and the ancients to be in Europe; and the Ocean being far distant fro these mountains, the land behind them on both sides must necessarily be Europaan. Where then begins the River Tanais to diffinguish the continents? If some River must divide them, it can be no other then the river Phasis; which descending directly oposite to the straits of Caliz, cuts between those two continents, ; as those straits also have them on each side of it; opening from the Ocean to the midland Seas. And the Phasis likewise entring at the end of that part of the midland Seas, called Pontus Euxinus, manifeltly receives from the Sea the continuation of dividing the Earth. This last opinion challenges antiquity, aswell as the other. For indeed, men possest of some ancient learning in a thing, commonly have not the patience to fearch long touching the truth of it, nor will endure new opinions. To them ever the ancienter the things are, the truer they feem, and they deride all of their own time as despicable. But the question now is not about Intelligences, and Intelligibles, nor fuch obscurites; but of a River and a country, which time could neither change nor conceal: Neither herein is there any thing can hinder a diligent fearcher from finding the truth. And yet Herodotus, an ancient writer L.4. Saies, that the Earth is in one peice ; but diffinguishe in three parts and names, viz, Affrick, Afia, Europe; and that the Agyptian Wile cuts Afia, Africk; and the Colchian Phafis, Afia, and Europe; and he taking notice also of the other opinion concerning Tanais, hath thele words. I cannot gueffe from whence three names are given to the Earth, " (being one peice ) and those of women. Nor why the bounds thereof are set to "be, the Egyptian Nile; and the Colchian Phasis, or ( as some say ) the River of "Tanais, Lake of Maotis, and Cimmerian straits. The Tragedian A/cylus also m " beginning of his Tragedy called Heapardo's house or, calls Phasis, the boundary of the land of Afia, and Europe. Another opinion there is among the Learned, that the Lake of Maoris doth make the Euxin esea, spreading part to the right side of it, part to the left; and is therefore called the mother of the Euxine The ground of their conjectures, because a current of this sea comes from the place called Hieron like a River, to Constantinople; and so they thinke the Enxine to end at Hieron. But against this downis alledged, that the Ocean is still the same, and ends no where before it arrive at Lazica; unlessemen will argue from variety of names, the one being called Ponins, the other Thatafa, both fignifying the Sea, And the current from Hieron to Constantinople is no proof, many things happen in Straits of the Sea, not subject to common reason, and none can expresse the causes of them. Aristotle himself, a most learned man, went purposely to Chalchis in Eubaa, to confider the straits called Euripus, and the natural reason, why the tyde there comes sometimes from the well and sometime from the East, according to which all ships made their course: and if with a tyde from the East, the ships steer'd on, and then the stream came against them ( as often happens there ) inflantly they were driven back again, and others came on from the West with the tide, though they had no wind at all. The Stage rite revolving this long in his mind, grew weary of his life, and there they fay ended it. In the straits likewife between Iraly and Sicily, with a seeming contrariety to reason, a current puts in from the Adriatique lea, where as the tyde is from the ocean and Caliz, and fudden Eddies without any apparant reason cast away many ships. Whence the Poets fain the swallowing up of thips by Charybdis. And all this happens

thus firangely in Straits, because the tyde is contracted in a narrow passage between two lands, and so falls into those necessities, whereof no reason appeares: And so the coming of a current from Hieron to Constantinople is no argument that the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas have there their endings. The faid reason hath no naturall foundation; but there also the narrownesse of the straits must carry it: And the fishermen of that coast find that current to Constantinople, to be only upon the upper part of the water (which is feen by us) and towards the bottome quite contrary: Where finking their Drags, they find them carried up to Hieron by the tyde below. But in Lazica the Land beats the tyde directly back again ( whereas by all other shores it passes on side-long) and there only causes it both to stay its course, and to retire; as if the Creator had there sets its limits. The Sea touching that shore runnes no further, and rifes no higher, though from all sides supplied with numberleffe Rivers, and some great ones; but back it goes, as being extended to its int measure, and keeping its bounds and limits in (as it were) by the awfull necessitwoffome Law, the articles whereof it is carefull not to transgresse. These are their arguments, where of every man may judge as he pleafes. .

#### CHAP. IV.

UT why Chofroes was so desirous tof Lazica, having sayd something before, I will now relate what most induced him; having thus described the aforelayd Countries, and thereby made my discourse more cleer. The Persians often had invaded the Roman Territories under Chofroes, and done mifcheifes there not to be expressed: But they got little by it, but came home still with much loffe of their men and estates, whereupon at their returne into Perfia they murmured against Chofrees, calling him the ruiner of their Nation. Once coming home out of Lazica, and being fallen into some desperate extremities, they were ready to mutiny; and had flaine him, if he had not foreseen it, and warded it, by gaining the principall of them with faire words. And being desirous to finde some reall Apologie, he was studious to procure some notable advantage to the Persian Empire. He attempted the City of Daras, but was repulsed (as I have layd) and he despaired to get it, either by surprize, the Guards being well kept, or by a siege. There being still in Daras all Provisions layd up in store for a long time : And befides neer it rifes a Spring in a Rocky ground, which makes a pretty River, descending directly into the City: an no Enemy can divert it, nor force it another way, by reason of the Rocks. Being within the City it goes round about it, and having filled their Ponds and Cisternes, it goes out againe, and close unto the Town-wals falls into a bottomlesse pit, and is seen no more, nor hitherto knowes any man where it rifes againe. This pit was not alwayes there; but it happened thus, long after the building of Dords by Anastasius the Emperour. By reason of this naturall fituation of the place, they who befiege it are afflicted with much want of water: So that Chofroes failing in this attempt, thought of taking some other Roman Towne: but farr within the Roman Territories to fit downe before any City, leaving so many strong places at his back, he thought it impossible. For this reason he layd Antioch flat with the ground, and quated the Roman-Territories, fo that his thoughts mounted after hopes further off, and full of difficulty. For hearing how the Barbarians feated on the left hand of the Enxine Sea, about the Lake of Maoris, doe without controlle over-run the Roman Provinces; he thought also by having Lizzica to passe unto Constantinople it selfe, without croffing the Sea, as well as those Barbarians. And for this cause the Perfians Rrive to get Lucidai But to returne from whence I digreffed. Corianes with the Perfian army encamped by the River of Hippis, and against them Gubases King of Lazica, and Dagisthens commander of the Roman army, led their forces of Romans and Lazians. They past the said River, and being energy marching ed, they consulted whether they should stay there, or receive the Briefly marching

them, or should march against the Enemy, and by giving demonstration of the cou-

rage, and by beginning the fight, charge them with lesse apprehension of danger themselves, and abate the Enemies spirits. This counsell prevailed that they should charge them, and on they went: But the Lazians reduced to joyne with the Roman Troops, who, they sayd, were not to fight for their Countrey and dearest pledges, themselves adventuring for Wives and Children, and their native soyle: So that being overcome, they should be assumed to look upon their Wives; by which necessary, valour (in case they had none) would grow in them. And they would have the first charge, least the Romans, who could not have an equal eagernesse to theirs, should in the fight break their orders. Gubazes being glad to see his Lazians so gallant, called them together at some distance from the Romans, and

spake thus.

"Countrey-men! I know nor whether it be fit to use exhortations to courage. vour torwardnesse provoked by necessity not needing any: The danger is about "Wives and Children, and your Countrey, and for all which the Perfians now in-" vade you. And none will willingly fuffer others to cake their estates from them "by force, nature compelling men to contend for their right. You know how "nothing will stop the Persians avarice, if once they get power. They will not now "rule over you onely, and lay tributes, and in other things make you tubject; but "ruine and transplant you, if they have the better in this Warr. We cannot forget "what Chofroes lately attempted against us: And let me not so much as mention "the tryall of the Persians in that kind nor let ever the name of the Luzians be "extinguished. Our fight with them will not be difficult; we have often fought "with them, and vanquishe them. And there is no hardnesse in things, we have "been used to; the toilsomenesse thereof being spent in our former practise. So "that we must not apprehend an Enemy often beaten; as being now not so valiant as they were before; and a spirit once dejected, commonly neve rising again. "With these considerations therefore, encounter the Enemy with courage. Having thus faid, he led them on. The army was thus ordered. The Lazian horse were fer in the front, and a good distance behind them came on the Roman horse, commanded by Philegagus a Gepade, a valiant man, and by John the Armenian, sirnamed Guzes, formerly spoken of by me, an extraordinary good souldier. In the rear came Gubazes, and the King of the Lazians, and Dagisthaus, the Roman Generall, with their foot; that if the horse were routed, they might escape unto them. Corianes on the other fide fent a thousand choice men well arm'd to discover, himself marching after them, and leaving only some few to guard the camp. The Lazians being foremost, and coming to the businesse, gave the lye to their former confidence. For lighting suddenly upon the Enemies Avant-coureurs, they being unable to withstand them, came gallopping all back in confusion, and mingled with the Roman Horse; glad to fly to those, with whom before they made scruple to be ranckt. Both the Cavalleries being neer, they joyned not battell, but each, when the Enemy came on, gave back, and fet on them retiring, and fo fpent much time in renewing charges, and in quick turns and returnes. In the Roman army was one Artabanes a Persarmenian, revolted lately to the Roman army, having secured his faith by the killing of a hundred and twenty Persian Souldiers. He got accesse to Vaierianus, then Generall of Armenia, and defired of him fifty Romans, with whom he went to a Castle in Persarmenia, guarded by a hundred and twenty Persians; who received him with his men, not knowing of his revolt. This Garrison they killed, and returned to Valerianus; and Artabanes appearing by this fure and firm to the Romans, ferved them in their warrs. In this incounter he put himself between the armies accompanied with two Romans; against them came some Enemies, whom Artabanes charging killed a Pergan, valiant, and of a strong body, and threw him from his Horle to the ground. A Barbarian standing next, strake Artabanes with his Sword upon the head, but no mortall blow. One of Artabanes two Companions, a Goth, while the Persians hand was yet over the head of Artabanes, thrust him into the left flanck and killed him. The thousand that were fent out at this retired, and stayd for Corianes, and the rest of the Army of Persians and Alans, and soon after they joyned: Then came up the Infantry both of Gubazes and Dagistheus to the Horse, and the fight came to handy blowes. Philegagus and John finding themselves too weak for the Enemies horse, and having seen what the Lazians could do, lighted

lighted, and caused the Romans and Lazians to do the like; and with the foot they flood in a deep battallion opposite to the Enemy and charging with their Lances. The Persians being not able to charge the Enemy being on foot, nor to break their Battallion, and their Horses flying back, troubled with the heads of the Lances and notife of the sheilds, they trusted with the multitude of their arrowes to break them. The Romans also, and the Lazians let fly their arrowes, and they coming thick, mamy were flain on both fides. The Perfians and Alans discharged offner; but the arrowes for the most part rebounded from the Romans sheilds. Corianes, the Persian Generall, was shot into the neck (by whom it was not known) of which he dyed instantly; and his death swayed the victory to the Romans side: For he falling from his horfe, forthwith the Persians ran away to their camp. The Romans pursued, killed many, and hoped to take the Enemies camp at first affault; But an Alan a frong man, & very expert to shoot backward and forward, put himself into the narrowest entrance into the Trenches, and stopt the invaders a long time; untill John Guzer killed him with his Lance, and then the Romans took the Camp Many Perfians there perished, the rest returned home as they could. This was the successe of that Persian invasion of Lazica. Another army also came, and victualled the Garrison in Petra; and then retired home.

#### CHAP. V.

IN the mean time the Lazians at Constantinople accused Dagistheus of Treachery, and favouring the Persians; and that by the perswasions of the Per-Lians he forbare to affault that part of the Walls of Petra, which fell down, and that the while the Enemy fortified the breach with fack-fuls of Sand laid ene upon another: And that for money, or negligently he lost his opportunity, by putting of the assault, which he could never after recover. The Emperour apon this confined Dagisthaus to his house, and made Bessas, lately come out of Indy, Generall of Armenia; whom he directed also to command the Army in Lasick, fent thither before under Venilus, Brother to Buzes, and Odonachus, and Bahas the Thracian, and Uligangus an Herulian. Nabedes also came into Lazica with an Army, but effected nothing worth the mentioning; fave only a defection of the Abasoians from the Romans and Lazians; and upon the occasion of being there with an Army, the taking of fixty Sons of their principall men for Hoflages; and the taking Prisoner in his way Theodora in Apsilia, the Widow of Opfiter, late Uncle to Gubazes, and King of Lazica. She was by birth a Roman, the Kings of Lazica having long used by the Emperours consent, to take Wives in Conflantinople, and to make allyances with fundry Senators: And Gubaces himfellewas the Son of a Roman Lady. The reason moving the Abasgians to revolt, was this. After they had (as I said before) deposed their Kings, some Roman Garrisons were by the Emperour laid upon the Country, who sought to reduce it under the Roman Dominion, and exacted new things, using violent waies, which discontented the Abasgians; And least they should be brought into slavery to the Romans, they fet up Kings again: Oplites of the Eastern part of the Country and Scaparnas of the Western. They were grown desperate of any good, and so chose rather to resume their former condition, though bad, then to retain the worse which succeeded; and fearing the Romans power, revolted secretly to the Penfan. But the Emperour perceiving it, commanded Bessar to march against them; who sent some choice numbers of his Army under Uligangus, and John Guzes. One of the new Kings of Abasgia had been lately sent for into Persia by Chasgon, where he then was. The other drew the Abasgians together, and opposed the Reman invalion. Upon the confines of Apfilia and way to Abasgia, is a high Mountain, beginning at Cancalus, and by degrees growing lower, till it ends in the Enxine Sea. At the foot of this Mountain the Abasgians have an ancient Cathe of a confiderable bigneffe, where they beat off any Enemy invading, the place being a great fastnesse, not possible to force. It hath one passage only, leading to this Calile, and into Abasgia, not passable but by one man at once a foot: Under

the faid foot-path, is a deep Vally reaching to the Sea, and very stony; which hath gotten a name sitable for the roughnesse, being called Trachea. The Roman Fleet came to the confines of Abasgia, and Apsilia, where John and Uligangus landed their Forces, leaving the Sea-men to waite on them neer the Shore. They marcht afoot unto Trachea, and seeing the Abasgians in Armes, and guarding the foot path, they were troubled. In the end fohn left there Uligangus with halfe the Army, and himselfe with the rest went aboard the Barkes, and compassed the Trachea, fo that he got the Backes of the Enemy. With Enfignes displayed he marcht against them, who perceiving themselves charged on both sides, resisted not, butretyred in confusion, so hamperd with their feare and amazement, that they bardly found their owne Countrey wayes, nor easily got cleer of them. The Romans on both sides had the execution, and killed many; and came running to the Castle, where they found the Guards shutting the Gates; but not able to put them to, and so still receiving in the pursued and Pursuers, pell - mell, and not discerning Abasgians from Enemies, and by reason of the croud being not able to close the Gates, the Abasgians, who were so glad to get within the walls, were taken with the castle. Yet the Romans, when they thought themselves masters of the Enemy, found a difficulty: for the houses standing close to one another, the Abasgians mounted the same, and shot down upon their heads, and defended themselves stoutly, out of fear and pitty of their wives and children, till the Romans fet the houses on fire, and so became absolute victors. Ophites, King of the Abafgians, fled with some few to the neighbouring Hunnes, and to mount Cancasus: The rest were consumed to ashes, or made prisoners. The Romans took both the Kings wives, and all their children, demolisht the Castle, and almost emptied the country: This was the successe of the Abasgians revolt.

But the Apsilians, being anciently subject to the Lazians, have in their countrya strong Castle called Tzibulum; which Terdites, Master of the Palace in Lazica, having offended the King, and being discontented, agreed to betray to the Persians, and getting some Persian forces ready, he went into Apsilia. Being neer the Castle, he rode afore with his company of Lazians, 'and got in, the Garrison not distrusting a principall Officer of Lazica. And thus Terdites, so soon as the Persian forces came up, received them into the Castle; and the Persians now held themselves Masters, not only of Lazica, but of Apsilia also; while the Romans being busic about Petra, and to incounter the Persian army, had no meanes to send succours. But the Governour of that Castle had a fair wise, by birth an Apsilian, with whom the commander of the Persian forces sell fondly in love; and when with his temptations he could not gain her, he attempted to force her; which so iaraged her husband, that he killed him, and sacrificed also his Company to their commanders lust, and took the Castle to himself. Hereupon the Apsilians took occasion to revolt from the Lazians, charging them for not coming to their succours against the Persians. Gubazes sent against them a thousand Romans, and John Guzes; who with fair words brought them back to their former obedience to the Lazians. And

thus was it concerning the Apfilians, and the castle of Tzibulum.

## CHAP. VI.

BOUT the same time, the cruelty of Chosroes toucht even upon his own blood. His eldest Son Anatozadus (which in the Persian language fignishes, Immortall) had much offended him with his lewd courses, making no scruple to lye with his Fathers Wives. At first Chosroes chassised him with Bamishment, and confined him to the City of Lapato, seven dayes journey from Ctesiphon, in a Province of Persia called Vazaine, a very good country; and soon after fell sick so dangerously, that he was reported to be dead; being of a sickly constitution: and having Physitians about him still of all countries, and among others Tribunus of Palastina; a man famous for his art, and inferiour to none of his time, & moreover a wise and a godly man, and very honest. He had formerly cured Chosroes &

came out of Persia with many great presents; but at the making of the Quinquennial cessation, Chosroes intreated the Emperour, to let him have Tribunus with him for one year; Who having performed his attendance, Chosroes bade him aske what he had a mind to. Tribunus instead of wealth, askt of him the liberty of some Roman captives; and got 3000 freed; besides some men of quality, whom he demanded by name. By this act Tribunus got a great reputation among all men. Anatozadus hearing of his Fathers sicknesse, usurped, and rebelled; and though his Father were recovered, yet he put the City into revolt, and keenly pursued the Warr. Chosroes sent against him an army under Fabrizus, who won the battell; took Anatozadus Prisoner, and brought him to his Father. Chosroes blemished the young mans eyes, not by taking away the sight; but by distorting the eye-lids into much uglinesse, with irons red hot, applied to the out side of the Eye-lids being shut. This Chosroes did, to cut off his hope of his Kingdome, the Law permitting not any man with any blemish to be King of Persia, as I have said before.

Now also was the fifth year of the Cessation expired, and Instinuan sent unto Chosroes, Peter a Patritian, and his Master of the Palace with commission to conclude an absolute truce for the East. Chosroes dismiss him with promise to send one shortly to finish all, as should be best for both: And soon after he sent Isdigunas again; a man supercisious and arrogant, and whose insolent pussing, and swelling was not tolerable to any Roman. He brought his wife and Brother with him, and a train so great, as if he were marching to a battell. He had also with him two principal Persians, who wore Diadems of Gold upon their heads. The Constantinopolitans murmured to see the Emperour honour him something more then according to the quality of an Ambassador. Bradicius the interpreter was not with him, whom they say Chosroes put to death, for presuming to sit at the same Table with the Emperour suffinian, who (said he) would not have admitted an Interpreter to such an honour, if he had not betrayed the Persian affaires. Some say, that Isdigunas charged him with secret conferences with the Romans. Isdigunas now at his audience, said not a word of the peace; but complained of Transgressions against the Cessation; That Arethas, and the Saracen Consederates of the Romans committed spoiles upon

Alamundarus, during the truce, and some other things of smal importance.

In the meane time Beffas fate downe before Petra with the whole Army. The Romans mined in the same place where Dagisthaus formerly had done, and for the same reason: For the Walls are for the most part founded upon a Rock; but in some places upon earth. Towards the West they are upon an impenetrable Rock, but not very thick, a peice whereof Dagisthaus then, and now Bessas digged into; but the nature of the ground bounded their Mine, not permitting it to proceed further then it selfe. After the retreate of Dagisthans, the Persians had mended the fallen piece of their Wall there, by filling up that which had been digged into, with pebble stones, and placing over it great beames, smoothed and tyed together to a pretty breadth. This basis of Timber was in stead of a foundation, and upon it was the Wall fet: Which the Romans not knowing, thought their Mine to be quite under the foundation; and having voyded away much earth from beneath those timbers, they shook indeed the Wall, and a part of it suddenly sunk, but it inclined not to either fide, nor had one stone disordered, but settled upright, whole and intire upon the digged ground, as if it had been let downe with an Engine; onely it was lower then before: And so the Romans could not affault the Towne; Mermeroes having formerly also with many hands raised all the Walls higher then ever. The Romans feeing the piece that funck, and stood upright so, were much troubled. Mine they could no more, neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the ground being steep, and the Ram not being to be drawne but in even ground. In the Army then chanced to be Sabirian Hunnes, who inhabite about the Caucahan Mountaines, and are populous, and divided into many Principalities. Some of their Princes are ancient freinds to the Roman Emperour, some to the King of Persia; who give Pensions in Gold to their severall Confederates, not yearely, but upon occasions. The Emperour to his Confederates had lately fent Gold for their ayde in this Warre: But the Messenger finding it unsafe to passe the Cancasian Mountaines, and by an Enemy with Money, came to Beffas before Petra, and from thence sent to the Sabirians, to send some to receive the Money, who presently-

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fent three of their Princes into Lazica, and these were with the Army at the at fault. When they faw the Romans despairing, they devised a new Engine, never thought of by the Remans nor Persians, who notwithstanding have had excellent Artiffs; and have often needed fuch an Engine to affault places in stony and steep ground: But it never came into their minds; Mans nature ever proceeding with time to new inventions. As these Barbarians suddenly made a new fashioned Ram. using no timbers upript, nor lying a crosse, but in stead of them small Poles tyed and fitted together. They covered the whole Engine with Hides, and observed the perfect forme of an ordinary Ram, and in the midit placed the usuall Beam, with a topp headed with Iron, to batter the Walls: It was made fo light that it needed no men or cattell to draw and thrust it forward; onely forty men within it covered by the Hides, carryed the Engine with ease upon their shoulders, and winded up the Ram and let it go against the Walls. Such Engines now were framed by these three Barbarians, taking Beames and Iron worke from the Romans Ramms, which they could not bring neer the Walls, and forty men being put under each, they fet it close to the Walls. On either fide of each stood men well armed with Corflets and Morions, and with long Poles in their hands topt with great Iron Hooks, to draw off from the Walls the stones loosened and unjoynted by the strokes of the Ram. The Romans with many pushes of the same shook the Wall, and they with their Poles pull'd downe the loofe stones, and quickly the Town was in the point of being taken. But the Persians upon the Wall set a wooden Tower ( which they had long before prepared ) full of their best men, having their heads and bodies all covered with Iron and with Cortlets, and veffells full of Brimftone, and Babylonian Pitch, and Naptha, a Drug used by the Persians, and by the Grecians called Medean oyle: These Vessells they fired and threw upon the Romans Rams, which failed little to be all fet on fire, and were faved by the men having the long Poles, who cleered away the fire still; but long they could not think so to hold out, the fire being fuch, that where it toucht it instantly burnt, if not instantly cast off.

#### CHAP. VII.

UT Beffas putting his Forces in Armes, caused scaling Ladders to be set to that part of the Wall which was funck; And himselfe using no other exhortation but the example of his own Valour, being an old man above 70. yeares of age, he first mounted the Ladder. Here was a Fight so valiantly performed by both Romans, and Perfians, as the like hath not been feen. The Persians amounted to about 2300 men, and the Romans were some 6000. On both fides almost all were hurt, that were not slaine: the Romans forced their ascent with all their power, and the Persians with much toile, and after the killing of many on both fides, were very neer to have quite beaten off the danger. Many Romans were flain at the tops of the Ladders, the Enemy standing above them; and Beffas himselfe fell from the Ladder, whereat a great shout was made, the Persians from all parts shooting at him, and his Lanciers standing all close about him, covering him, having their Murrions and Corfelets on, and with their Shields, making the form of a Roofe over him, and keeping off the Arrowes, which clasht upon their Armour, and fnapt afunder. And all was full of clamour, panting, and toile. The Romans, eager to bring off their Generall, shot thick at the Walls, and represt the Enemy. Beffas could not get up for the Shields that were held over him, and being an old man, fat and unweildly. Yet he loft not his Spirits, but in that great danger suddenly advised that which preserved himselfe, and the Romans Affaires. He directed his Lanciers to drag him off by the legs, which they did, and went off with him, holding their Shields over one another, and drawing him away fo far at once only, as not to be subject to the Enemies shot. Beffas, so soon as he was in a safe place, rose, and encouraging his Souldiers, gave on again, mounting again the Ladder himselfe; and the Romans following him did very valiantly. The Persians hereupon demanded time to quit the place, and to yeild it. But Beffas suspecting

it to be cunning, in the mean time to fortifie the Walls, faid, that he could not flav the Fight; but he pointed to another part of the Walls, whether they might go with him, and parly while the Armies fought. They not entertaining the motion, the Fight was hotly pursued: Which continuing equall, another part of the Wall, where the Romans had formerly min'd, suddenly fell down. Many of both parts ran thither; The Romans, though divided, exceeded the Enemy in numbers. and preft hard upon them : And the Persians being charged in both places, and their fewnesse by being divided appearing, did not equally indure the charge. While the Armies were toyling, and the Persians unable to repell the eagernesse of the Romans, and the Romans absolutely to force their entry; John Guzes left them fighting upon the ruined Wall, and with some Armenians his Country-men, mounted the Rock where the City was esteemed impregnable; and forcing upon the Guards there, killed with his Lance one of the gallantest Persians, and made the place accessible. In the mean time the Persians in the wooden Tower, kindled many Fire-veffels, by flinging the same thick, to burn the Engines and men in them. notwithstanding their long Poles. But a strong Southern wind blew against them, and withall let afire one of the boards of the Tower : They within it, being overtoyled, and full of tumult and diforder, perceived not the Accident foon enough, (their businesse taking from them their senses,) and the slame kindling by little, and little, and with the Medean Oyle, and the other materials, burnt all the Tower, and the Persians in it; who confumed into Coales, fell down, some within the Town, some among the Roman Engines. At the ruined Wall also the Enemy grew faint, and gave back, and the Romans entred, and then was Petra abfolutely taken; only fome 500. Persians retired to the Cittadell. The rest the Romans took, being 730 men, of whom 18. only were unhurt in the Fight. Many Romans also fell, brave men, and among them John Guzes, valiantly entring the Town, was killed with a stone. The next morning the Romans besieged the Persians in the Cittadell, and propounded offers of safety unto them, and to give assurances for thesame: But they rejected them, and resolved to oppose, though they had no thought of subsisting long; but they choice to dye bravely. Beffas was desirous to draw them from this Opinion, and to perswade them to live. He commanded a Roman Souldier to speak to them to that purpose, as hee dictated it unto him; who being neer, faid thus.

Valiant Persians, what mean you thus to pull on your own destruction? using a sencelesse endeavour to dye, and shaming the profession of Valour; which never opposes unrefistible necessities, but wisely yeilds to the Conquerour. It is not dishonourable to obey your Fortune, and Live; Necessity having left no hope, excuses the dishonour, although one be put to the poorest Actions; pardon ever attending that which cannot be avoided. Insoevident a danger, affect not therefore pride, nor sacrifice your lives for a little vaine-glory. Think how men once dead revive not again; but that the living may in time recompose themselves. Consult therefore your last consultation, and study your own good: Those Counsels are ever best, wherein the advisers have left it in their power to repent. We pitty this your strugling under the Yoake, and spare you, Jo fond to dye. And while you are wanton and foolish in a case of life; wee, as Romans, and Christians, commiserate you. If you live, the worst that shall befall you, will be to change your Common-wealth for a better, and to have Justinian your Lord instead of Choscoes; and for this we give you our Faith. Murther not therefore your selves, having meanes to live; It is not excusable thus to no purpose to be in love with dismall things, which is not to be valiant, but to be weary of life. The valiant manendures, while from his sufferings he expects advantage. Men commend a willing death, when some gallant hope is built upon it; But a precipitate end, is a rash and uselesse folly, and a vaineglorious dying foolish: Wife men condemning such a fond pretext ofbrave spirit. Consider moreover, if herein you be not unthankfull to God; who if he would have you destroyed, would not have delivered you to men, who desire your preservation. Thus it is;

and doe you advise, whether you he worthy to live or no.

The Persians would not so much as afford attention to this Counsell, as men willingly dease. By the Generals direction therefore the Romans threw fire into the Cittadesl, thinking so to bring them to yeild. But they, though beholding the mischiese, and knowing that certainly they would be all consumed, and having no

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hope

hope by refifting to escape, yet would not come into their Enemies hands; but perisht all with the Cittadell; the Romans wondring at it. How serious a businesse Chofroes held Lazica to be, appeared by this his putting into Petra the choice and the bravest of his men, and by storing the same with so great a proportion of armes, that to every Roman fouldiers share upon the pillage fell five mens furnitures, besides much burnt in the Cittadell. There was also found corn, and other falted provisions for five years siege : Wine there was none; but some Beveridge, and store of beans. The Romans wondred to find water coming from the Aquadust till they understood the mystery. For Chofroes having taken Petra, and placed a Garrison in it; foreseeing the siege, and that doubtlesse the Romans would attempt the Agnadult, divided the water, brought from it to the City, into three parts, by making a deep Sewer, and by building three leverall Aquaducts; the one at the bottome of the Sewer up to the middle of it, covered with stones and Earth; above that a fecond covered also, and a third above Ground and visible. The Romans not understanding those close conveiances, spoiled the uppermost at the beginning of the flege, not working downward to the other, thinking the water did fail the City by what they had done; and from their loathnesse to work, their wits failed them. The siege continuing, the Romans understood by some prisoners, that the besieged had water from the Aqueduct still; whereupon digging, they found the second Conduit and cut it, and in their fecond Errour were not admonished by their first. But now the city being taken, and finding the water still coming in, and from their Prisoners, hearing how it was done; they faw too late their Enemies providence, and their own negligence. The Prisoners Bessas sent all to the Emperour, and threw down the Walls of Perra, that the Enemy might put them to no more businesse about it: which the Emperour approved, & commended him both for his valour, and this wife counsell of his. Thus Beffas, by his good fortune, and the great valour shewed in this action, grew into a great reputation again: when he commanded Rome, there was great hope of him, having done very valiantly in former imployments. After his ill fortune at Rome ( the same being sackt by the Goths, and the whole strength of the Romans there being well nigh destroyed) yet at his return to Constantinople, the Emperour made him Generall against the Persians; though the world souted the Emperours refolution herein, in committing the Persian war to an old man allmost in his Grave, and one who had been fo grofly beaten by the Geths; but notwithstanding this generall opinion, Beffas used the valour, and found the good fortune, I have faid. So are humane affaires determined, not as men imagine; but as God fwayes the Ballance: And this men call Fortune; finding accidentall things to fucceed in a way by them not differend, and fo attributing a name of Fortune to things above their own reason.

#### CHAP. VIII.

In the mean time Mermeroes, afraid of Petra, was coming with his army thither so so so the winter was done, and the season was sit; but hearing what was become of it, he staid his journey, knowing how on that side of the Phasis the Lazians had no Town, but Petra. So that he marcht homeward, having pre-posses the passages in Lazian, from Iberia: and he past over the Phasis, where he found it fordable, and over another River called Reen. Having now the Phasis to his right hand, be led his army to Archaepolis (the cheif city of Lazica) being most horse, and with eight Elephants, which the Persians use as a Tower to stand upon, and shoot upon the Enemies heads. The Persians industry also is worthy admiration; having made the way between Iberia and Lazica (which was unpassable for rocky places, covered with thick woods and bushes; that there was no going for a man a toot) now so plain and easie, that not only their Horses, but their Elephants may passe. There came also 12000 Sabirian Hunnes to Mermeroes; who fearing least their multitude would not obey him, but might do him some mischeif rather, he kept 4000 of them, and sent the rest home with good store of mony: The Roman army amounted in all to 12000, whereof Odonachus and Babas two expert Commanders, had 3000, and the rest incamped neer the Phasis (with intention to succour any place where

where the Enemy should fall on ) commanded by Bonilus & Oligangus: there was also Varazes the Persamenian with them, who late came out of Italy followed by 800 Tzanians. Bell as was retired into Pontus and Armenia, his Government, meaning to toil no more, but to get what he could by his place; and by his avariciousnesse he again ruined the Roman affaires. After his victory at Petra, if he had made hafte to fortifie the paffages into Lazica from Iberia, the Persians had not entred Lazica, which he even as good as delivered to the Enemy by his neglect, and carelefnesse of the Emperours indignation. Who indeed used much to connive at the Errours of his cheif Ministers, and they from thence committed many, both in the courses of their lives, and in their Governments. The two Castles of Scanda and Sarapanis, in Lazica, about the frontier of Iberia, standing upon two passages very hard to get through, the Lazians had demolisht. These Castles fustinian in the beginning of the War guarded with Romans, taking out the Lazians formerly in it; but the Romans wanting victuall, and being not able like the Lazians to live long upon Elymus, a kind of pulle like mill-feed; the Lazians also being weary of bringing Provision upon their backs (there being no passage for horses) the Romans there abandoned them. and the Persians took them; but upon the truce restored them to fustinian for the Forts of Bolum and Pharangium, as I have faid before. But the Lazians having demolishe them now, the Persians repaired Scanda, and held it at this coming of Mermerces into Lazica. And entring the same from Iberia, the first Towne you meet with in the Plaine, is Rodopolis, very affaultable; whereupon the Lazians demolisht it, fearing the Persian Invasion; so that now Mermeroes marcht on to Archaopolis. But he would not fit downe before it, fearing the Romans Army at his back, encamping neer the Phasis. Towards them he went first, and passing by Archaopolis told them, That he meant to make a visit to the Romans upon the Phasis, and that done, would come to them againe. They answered him bravely, and bade him go, and that if he spake once with the Romans there, he would never come back to them. But the Commanders of the Roman Army hearing the newes, and finding themselves too weak, went aboard their Barks, carrying with them what they could, and throwing the rest into the River. Soon after came Mermeroes, and was very melancholly to fee the Romans Camp with not a man in it; he burnt the fame, and in much anger led his Army back to Archaopolis.

This City stands upon a kind of Rock, and by it runs a River descending from the next Mountaines. The Low Gate opens neer the foot of the Rock, and the ground to it from the Plaine rifes onely, but makes no difficulty of accesse. The Gate opening toward the Rock is very hard to approach, having also for a great way thereabout great Thickets. The towne Walls were built up to the River, that they may draw up their water, having none within the Towne. Mermeroes was eager to affault, and finding it rifing ground, not to be medled with by ordinary Rams, he caused his Sabirians to make Rams portable on mens shoulders, using the advantage of his Enemies experiment thereof at Petra, which he had heard of. And these Sabirians made such Rams as their Countrey-men in league with the Romans made then. Mermeroes set against the rocky part of the City the Delomites, a people dwelling in the midst of Persia, among unaccessable Mountaines, and so not subject to the Persian, but free; and in the Persians wars they serve them for pay, being all foot men, with fword and sheild and two Javelins; and are nimble to climbe rocks, and to runne along the fides of mountaines, as upon plain Ground. These being there ordered, Mermeroes with the rest of his army assaulted at the lower gate, and with his new Rams, and his Elephants. Where the Persians and Sabirians galled the Romans with their shot, making them almost to quit the Battlements, and the Dolomites did as much on their fide with their Javelins, that the Romans were in much extremity. Odonachus and Babas (were it to shew their own, or try the Romans resolution, or by some instinct ) leaving some few upon the Battlements,

drew together the rest, and fayd thus to them.

"Fellow Souldiers! you see our danger; but neverthelesse you must not yeld to it: Nothing preserves men despairing of life, but not to be in love with life: "which fond love is commonly attended with destruction. Consider how in such a difficulty as this, it is not safe to resist an Enemy from the Battlements of a "Towne: We may do it bravely, but the distance of place will not permit us to

"use our valour: The best we can get, is, to get off and retyre: But if we fight bo"dy to body, courage is it gets the better there; and the Victory goes with valour, "They who get the better from a Wall, gaine not much; for the next day the danger renues as fresh as ever, and so they perish by little and little, and loose at last "their defended Fortresses. But who overcome in a standing fight, are ever after fecure. Taking this into our thoughts, let us make a brave fally, trusting in Gods fassistance, and hoping well even from the despaire wee are in. God preserves those most, who have no hope left in themselves.

#### CHAP. IX.

DONACHUS and Babas having thus fayd, led out the Army: Some they left behinde, having suspition of one of the cheife Inhabitants of the City, a Lazian; who had been treated with by Mermeroes in the heat of the affault, to fet the City-Magazines on fire. Mermeroes by this thought either to enter the Towne with leffe opposition, the Romans being busie to quench the fire, or if, being eager to defend the Towne, they neglected the fire, he should deprive them of their stores, and so easily in time get the Towne by Famine. The Lazian according to his promise to Mermeroes, when he saw the assault at the hottest, fired the Store-houses. The Romans left behinde, seeing the flame rise, ran to it, and with much toyle, and some hurt, put it out. Those who sallyed, frighted the Enemy with the suddennesse, and killed them without resistance. For the Persians sufpected no fally from fo few Defendants, and were scatter d, and in disorder as upon an affault : Some with the Ramms upon their shoulders, and without their armes: others could do no Execution with their bowes, the Romans at the first running up close unto them; who slasht with their Swords on all sides, and cut them in peices. One of their Elephants also, either wounded, or otherwise starting, flew back, and cast his riders, breaking the rancks, and driving the Persians backward; while the Romans securely cut off all in their way. It may seem strange, that the Romans knowing so well the means of resisting Elephants, did nothing now; confounded (it feems) with the present butinesse. The means is that, which was practifed upon Chofroes at Edefa: an Elephant there was brought close to the walls, with many of the gallantest Persians upon it: and appearing like a Tower, and the shot from it being made directly upon the Defendants heads, the taking of the town was certainly expected: when the Romans escaped this danger only by hanging out a Hog from the Bulwark, which with his squeaking scared the Elephant so, that he turned about and retired fair and foftly home. This now was omitted by the Romans; but their good fortune supplied their negligen ce. Having mentioned here Edessa, let me tell a strange prodigy which happened in that City a little before the breaking of the Perpetuall Peace; which was, the delivering of a woman with a child having two heads: the events fince have made the meaning manifest. For the East, and much of the Roman Empire besides, have been disputed by two Emperours; but to return to the fight. The Persians being thus disordered, and they in the rear seeing the confusion in the van, and not knowing the matter, ran away in fear. The Dolomites also, who were upon high Ground, and saw all, ran away shamefully, and the overthrow was cleer. Four thousand Persians were slain, and three principall commanders, and four Enfignes were taken, which were lent to Constantinople. They lost 20000 horses, not all in fight; but being spent with running away, and not getting a belly full of meat in Lazica, they dyed with famine and weakneffe.

Mermeroes having failed at Archaopolis, was neverthelesse master of the seild in Lazica, and led his army into Muchirisis, a country distant from Archaopolis a daies journey, having many populous villages, and the best land of Lazica, full of vines and other fruits, through which runs the River of Reon, upon which anciently the Lazians had a Castle; but they demolish it, because standing in a plain it was easie to be taken. The Castle was called by the Grecians Cotyanm, but now by the Lazians Cotasis, as Arrianus in his history. Others say, it was anciently a City named-Coitanm; where Lazis was born, whom the Poets call Coitaensis, and Lazica, Coy-

taitus.

taitis. This Castle Mermeroes was desirous to re-edifie, and wanting materialls, he staid till the winter was past, purposing to repaire it with Timber. Neer unto Cotafis, stands Ochimerium, a strong Castle, guarded by Lazians with some Roman souldiers intermingled: Hereabout Mermeroes lay with his army, possessing the best land of Lazica, and cutting off the Romans from bringing victuall to Ochimerium, and from marching into the countries of Suania, and Scymnia, subject to the Persians; an Army in Muchirisis, crossing the passage into those countries. These were the successes of the armies in Lazica.

In Constantinople, in the mean time Isdigunas the Persian Ambassador, had many conferences with the Emperour touching a peace. And after a long time spent in disputes, at last they came to this agreement: "That in their proper Dominions there should be a cessation of armes for sive years, and during the same, that sending to each other they should endeavour to compose the dissernces concerning "Lazica and the Saracens; and that the Romans should pay to the Persians twenty Centenaries of Gold for this Cessation of sive yeares, and for the eighteen months passed between the end of the first Quinquennials Cessation, and their sending "Ambassadors to each other sixe Centenaries more; the Persians alleading, that "they yeilded to a conference for truce upon that Condition. These twenty Centenaries, Isdigunas would have presently paid, and the Emperour demanded to pay them by sour Centenaries every year, and thereof to give caution; but in the end the Romans paid down the whole summe, that they might not seem to pay a yearly

Tribute to the Persians.

Thus men are ashamed more of the dishonour of names, then things. Barfabes also, a Persian of great quality, and much favoured by Chosroes, whom Valerianus had taken prisoner in a fight in Armenia, and sent to Constantionople, and for whom Chofroes had offered a great ransome, was now set at liberty upon the fuit of Isdigunas, , who promised to perswade Chosroes to remove his army out of Lazica. This Cessation concluded in the twenty fifth year of Justinians Raigne, much discontented the Romans, whether unreasonable or no, (as Subjects use to censure the actions of their Princes ) I will not determine. But they alleadged, that the Persians being now strong in Lazica, they might securely without the interruption of any, for five years to come, hold the fairest peices of it, and that the Romans would never afterward be able to drive them out of it, but the Persians have easy accesse even to Constantinople it selfe. These considerations troubled most men, but they could not help it; and likewise to see the ancient indeavour of the Persians, to make the Romans tributary, which by war they could never hope to effect, now established by the colour of a ceffation of armes; Chofroes now taxing the Romans with a tribute of four annual Centenaries upon this fair pretence, untill his forty fix Centenaries were paid, calling his Taxe a Truce, and shewing apparantly to have plotted it from the beginning of the War. And yet still he used hostility in Lazica, as hath been said. From this Taxation the Romans had no hope ever to be freed, but law themselves in the quality of plain Tributaries to the Persians. Isdigunas also having gotten more wealth then ever Ambassador did, and received the highest honours from the Emperour, together with immense gifts, was sent home the richest man (Ithink) in Persia. This only Ambassador had no Guard put upon him; himselse and his followers freely conferred, and kept company with whom they would; and in the city bought and fold, and made any contracts, and were present at them, with all manner of license, no Roman attending them to observe their doing, as was wont to be.

At this time also wer Heats, such as none ever remembredthe like, the Roses towards the winter growing in abundance, as in the spring, with no manner of difference, and the weather as hot as at midsummer: And the vintage being long past, new Grapes came up. Some divined from hence at great accidents likely to succeed; but the naturall cause of it was the continuance of the Southerly winds, longer then was ordinary, from whence came those unusuall heats. If any strange matters were signi-

hed by them, we shall know the certainty by the Event.

#### CHAP. X.

Uring the fayd Negotiation at Constantinople for a truce; in Lazica King Gubazes affected the Romans, because he found Chofroes to plot his death; but the generality of the Lazians offended with the Romans oppressions; and discontented with their Commanders, did for the most part favour the Persians, not for love of the Persian Government, but to be rid of the other, of two ills chooling that rather which they felt not. And Theophobius a cheife man among them, treated with Mermeroes to deliver to him the Castle of Uchimerium. who animated him to the action with large hopes of being a Favorite of Chofrees and naturalized a Persian, and of getting great wealth and preferments. There were no Forces joyned of Romans and Lazians, and the Persians visited all the Townes at their pleasure. The Emperialists lay concealed, some neer the Phasis, o. thers in Archaopolis, and other Fortresses; and King Gubazes lay quiet upon the tops of Mountaines: So that Theophobins without any difficulty appearing, came to the Castle and told the Emperiall Garrison there, That the Roman Army was cut in peices, King Gubazes ruined, and Lazica wholly under the Persians, without any hope of recovering the same for the Romans or Gubazes. Mermeroes with feventy thousand Persians had done all this, and with great numbers of Sabirians; And that Chofrees was now also joyned suddenly with an innumerable Army, that all Lazica would scarce contains them. With this terrible newes Theophobins so frighted the Garrison, that they belought him even by the God of their Fathers to finde some accommodation for them. He promised to procure their safety from Chofroes; and returning immediately to Mermeroes, obtained of him some principall Persians with Commission to repaire to Uchimerium, and having given assurances to the Garrison for their lives and Goods, to take possession of the Castle by the having whereof the Persians were absolute Masters of Lazica. They subdued also Scymnia and Suania, that all places from Muchirif is to Iberia were unacceffible to the Romans and King Gubazes. And nor Romans nor Lazians durit meddle with the Enemy, nor come, the one from their Fortresses, the other downe from the Mountaines. Mermeroes during the Winter, repaired with timber the Walls of Coitasis, and placed in it three thousand Persians; he put also a competent Garrifon in Uchimerium, and repaired another Caftle called Sarapalis, upon the Frontier of Lazica. Then he martcht toward the Phasis, where he understood that the Romans and Lazians had newly made head and were encamped. But Gubazes and the Roman Commanders at the first news of his coming disbanded, and every man faved himselfe as he could. Gubazes ran up againe to the Mountaines, and there with his Wife and Children made an end of the Winter, fighting it out with poverty and the hard weather, and comforting himselfe ( as men use ) with hopes from Constantinople. And the other chiefe Lazians in their respect to their King were contented, as he, with hard winter lodgings in the holes of Rocks. Enemy they feared none in those Mountaines, being (especially in the Winter) not to be medled with; but famine and other misery made them weary of their lives. Mermerous in the meane time built Store-houses in the Villages of Muchirisis, and furnish the same with Victuall; and by sending Fugitives to the foot of the Mountaines, and promifing conditions of fafety, he drew many downe, supplyed them plentifully with what they most wanted, and used them as his owne people. In all things else he ruled the Countrey at his pleasure, and to Gubazes wrote this Letter.

"Who in power excell others, live as they lift, and bring the weaker to what terms they please, who being flaves to the stronger cure their want of power with wise dome, and by soothing their Conquerours, hold that with comfort, whereof their infirmity deprives them. This is generally in all Nations, and is fixed in the nature of men. So that gentle Gubazes! if you thinke you can vanquish the Per
"sans, delay not your owne good, but come to Battell, you shall finde us in what part of Lazica you please, ready to fight with you for the Countrey. With us you may now try your power, who can never thinke afterward to oppose the whole power of Persia. Or you may take the second course, which is to know

your felfe, and to adore Chofrors as your Mafter, King, and Conquerour; by fupplications you may be rid of your prefent miseries; I undertake that the King will be gracious to you, and will give you of the best Hostages in Persia for the perpetuall affurance of your life and Kingdome. If neither of these please, suffer the Lazians, made miserable by your bad counsels, to raise themselves from the difficulties that presse them; and see them not crusht with an endlesse ruine, while you trust to the suppery hopes of Roman Succours, who can vindicate you "no more then hitherto they have done.

Gubazes was not perswaded by this Letter; but still stayd upon the Mountaines; his hatred of Chofrees not suffering him to despaire in the Roman Succours. Mens judgements ever thus tune to that which pleases their wills, admitting all reasons of that fide, without examination of the foundnesse of them; and obstinately not

gediting, nor weighing the arguments which croffe their defires.

About this time certaine Manks came out of India, and getting accesse to the Emperour, promised to effect his long defire, that the Romans should no more buy the Metaxa, or Raw-filke from the Persians their Enemies, nor any other Nations. For having remained long in those Countries, they had learnt the way how the same might be had in the Roman Provinces. They told him that certaine Wormes, taught by nature, did spin this Raw-silke; to bring the Wormes alive, that it was not possible, but easie to get their Bags, wherein were innumerable Eggs, which being covered in Dung, and thereby heated, produced the Wormes. The Emperour promifed them a great reward to bring their undertaking to effect; who returned into India; brought those Eggs to Constantinople, and being by the meanes aforelayd growne to Wormes, fed them with Mulbery leaves, and so caused the making of Raw-filke in the Roman Territories.

The Winter being ended, Ildigunas came to Chofrees with the Money, and the Treaty agreed upon; who fealed the fame and took the Money; wherewith levying agreat Army of Hunnes, he fent them to Mermeroes; resolving not to quit Lazica. Mermeroes with these Hannes and his Persians and Elephants marcht against the Townes of Lazica, whom the Romans encountred not, but under the command of Martinus fortified themselves about the mouth of the Phasis; and lay quiet, in the company of King Gubazes. Mermeroes led the Army first against a Caffle where he understood the Sister of Gubazes to be; but the Garrison; and the strength of the place beat him from thence; and caused him to retyre without doing any hurt in that journey either to Romans or Lazians. Marching into Abafgia; he found the narrow and rocky passage into the same possest by a Reman Garrison, who opposed his entrance. So that he drew back, and went against Archaewis; and not prevailing there neither, he retyred with his Army: which the Romans followed, and in that fast Countrey intercepted many, and killed the cheif Commander of the Sabirian Hunnes. But fighting about the dead body, the Persans forced away the Enemy, and retyred to Coitaisis in Mucheirisis. Such were the successes of the Armies in Luzica,

#### CHAP. XI.

N Africa all things proceeded fairly for the Romans, by the incredible successes of John the Generall, who had drawn to his party Cutzinas, a Prince of Numidia, then vanquishe all the other Numidians in a battell, and soon after brought Antalus and Jabdus, (who were Princes of Moores in Byzacium and Numidia) to follow him in the quality of flaves. So that in Africa the Romans had no Enemies, and not many subjects, whom the former wars and mutinies had almost wasted.

In the mean time in Europe, the Gepades, who (as I faid formerly) made a truce with the Lembards, not ending their differences, resolved upon a war again, which grew as hot as ever : The Gepades being led by Thorifin, and the Lombards by Axanin; followed by great multitudes on both fides. They came neer, but the armies discerned not one another; when a sudden Panick fear, without any cause appearing, frighted both the armies so, that they ran away, leaving their Commanders with !

with some few only behind: who neither with fair words nor threates could flopp them. Anduin not knowing the Enemy was in the same case, fent an Embassage to the Enemy for truce. The Ambassadors, finding the Gepades to have had the same for-"tune with themselves, demanded of Thorisin, whether his people were gone; "they are fled ( quoth Thorisin ) none pursuing, and so are the Lombards, sayd " they: fince you deal truly with us, we will conceal nothing from you. And fince "God is pleased that these nations shal not perish, and hath cast on us both this fav-"ing fear, let us concur with that gracious fentence, and make an end of the war. Be it fo, quoth Thorifin, and fo a Ceffation was concluded for two years, and in the mean time to lend their Heralds, mutually and fully to compose the differences; but not being able to end the same, they fell again to the way of hostility. The Genedic feared that the Romans would joyne with the Lombards, and therefore they fent to the Cuturgurians, Hunnes inhabiting on this fide the Lake of Maotis, to affift them in this war against the Lombards. They sent them twelve thousand men, commanded by Chinialus, an experienced Souldier. But one year of the Ceffation being yet to come, and the Gepades having no occasion to use such a multitude, perswaded them in the interim, as upon the by, to invade the Romans, who keeping no exact Guards upon the Ister, into Illyrium and Thrace, the Gepades transported the Hunnes into the Empire; who spoiled the country, and fackt the Towns. The Emperour hereupon sent to the Vinrgurians, Hunnes planted beyond the Lake of Mean, blaming their unjust lying still, it being most unjust to neglect their freinds perishing; alleadging how the Cuturgurians being their neighbours, and receiving great pensions yearly from Constantinople, ceased not to wrong them, but made daily inroades and spoiles upon them: & they, the Cuturgurians getting no share of the same, were carelesse of the Romans their ancient freinds, and saw them spoiled and ransack by the Cuturgurians, without vindicating them from those oppressions. The Vingurians upon this remonstrance of the Emperour, and of the many presents they had received from him, and upon receit of more mony now, were won to invade the Cuturgurians country. They passed the Tanais, accompanied with two thousand Tetraxite Goths, who dwelt neer them, and the army was commanded by Sandill, a wife and a valiant man, and experienced in many warrs. The Cuturgurians in countred them in a battell long fought; but were routed, and many were flain. And the Oturgurians took their wives and children captives, and went home. During the battell, some thousands of Romans, who had been taken captives by the Cuturgurians, flipt away, and recovered their native countries unfollowed, and getting to in that which most concerned them, the benisit of the others victory. The Emperour sent Aratius to Chinialus, Generall of the Cuturgurians, to tell him the news of his own country, and to perswade them with mony to quit the Roman territory, who hearing what the Veurgurians had done, took the mony, and came to this accord: That without killing, or taking prisoners, or other hurt doing, they should retue home through the Roman Subjects, as freinds: That if they could continue in their country, they should observe faith to the Romans, if they could not they should come back, and have townes given them by the Emperour in Thrace; and being Confederates with the Romans, should guard the provinces from all Barbarians what soever. Of them already two thousand were come into Roman Land with their wives and children, after receiving that overthrow, from the Usurgurians; and were led by Sissinnion, who served formerly under Belifarius, against Gelimer, and the Vandales. They be came fervants to the Emperour, and were feated in Thrace. Sandill, King of the Uturgurians grew angry at this; that he should punish the Cuturgurians of the same Race, and expell them for wrongs done to the Romans, and that now the Emperour should entertain them to live among the Romans, and better then ever they did. He sent Ambassadors to the Emperour to expostulate; but without Letters: for the Hunnes know no letters, nor Grammer, nor breed their Children in the toiles about learning. The Ambassadors having accesse to the Emperour, told him as they were directed.

That their King Sandill hade them say, that he heard an old saying, when hee was a boy, how a Woolfe may change the colour of his haire, but not his nature, which will rever be mended: that he knew by his own experience also, as a rusticall Barbarian could observe it, how shepheards breed their Dogs in their houses from little Puppies, who have

the good nature to remember the kindnesse of them who feed them: and the Shepheards do this, that they may have the Doggs to chase away the Wolves; and to protect the poor heep. That this is used every where, no where Dogs invading the flock, nor Wolves defending it. And he doth not thinke that in the Emperours Dominions, (though aboutding with so many strange things) there is any varying from this constant Law of nature; which seeing it is universally the same, that he conceiveth it not good for the Emperour to harbour this wolvish race of Cuturgurians, nor to bring in such turbulent neighbours; nor to take them as sojourners, when he could not bear being strangers, and that they will hortly her their nature to the Romans. That the Romans hall never want Enemies to destroy them, when even those who shall be beaten may hope to be in a better Condition; nor will their freinds hinder inreads into their country, when the vanquisht shall have more respect from them then they, after the best they can do. As themselves live now in abarren country, while the Cuturgurians have plenty of corn, and surfet in their Wine fellars, and feed upon every dish. The wanderers are now admitted to the Bathes and have their Jewells, their silkes and imbroyderies of gold to wear, and yet they carried innumerable Romans into their country captives; where they inflicted on them the baself abuses, scourging them, nay killing them without any offence committed, and in cther things acting upon them the humour and power of Barbarian Masters; but that the Uturgurians set them at Liberty, and restored them to their country by the sweate and toile of a war. And now that the rewards of them both are very unequall; while themseives fill injey the miseries of their poor country; but the Cuturgurians share a part of the country of those very men, who by the valour of the Uturgurians were delivered from thraldome under the other.

Thus spake the Viargurian Ambassadors, whom the Emperour soothed with store of gifts, and shortly sent them home.

## CHAP. XII.

N these times was a great Warr between the Varnians and the Islanders of Brittia: The Varnians are seated beyond the River Ister, and extend to the Northern Ocean, and the Rhyne, which River divides them, and the Francks, and the other Nations inhabiting those parts. All which Nations on both sides the Rhyne are named Germans. Brutia lyes on the Ocean Sea, distant from the Continent but twenty five miles, opposite to the mouth of the Rhyne, and lying between Brittany and \* Thule. Brittany lyes to the West of Spaine five hundred miles, but Brittia lyes at the bottom of Gaule upon the Ocean, Northward to Spaine and Brittany: And Thule lyes in the uttermost bounds of the Ocean, Northward, This Island of Brittin is possest by three populous Nations, and over each is a King, and they are named Angli, Frisons, and Brittians. The people are so fruitfull, that yearely they transport many Families to the Francks, who plant them in defert Countries, and upon that ground pretend an interest to the Island; and lately in an Embassage to the Emperour Justinian, sent some Angli in company, as if the Island were theirs. Over the Varnians one Hermegisclus lately reigned, who took to Wise a Sister of Theodebert King of the Francks, his former Wise being dead; by whom he had a Son named Radiss, betroathed to the Sister of the King of the Angli in Brittia: This Hermegliscus riding to take the avre, a Raven from a tree croaked at him; he told his Noble men attending him, that the Bird in her language did foretell his death to be within forty dayes after: And I (quoth he) for your peace and fecurity made an allyance with the Francks by mine owne Wife, and contracted a Beittian Lady to my Son : But now being fuddenly to dye without Issue from my now Wife, and my Son being yet without his Bride, "let me communicate my thoughts to you, and when I am dead, if you like my ad-"vife, put it in execution. I hold it more advantagious for you, to have allyance "with the Francks then with the Brittians; who being Islanders, cannot joyne "with you in time, nor easily: whereas nothing severs the Francks, but the Rhyne, "from you. And being so neer and so powerfull, they are at hand both to helpe "and hurt you; and hurt they will, if this allyance restraine them not: An over-



Thule with this Author is Norway and part of Denmarke.

growne

"growne neighbour proves heavy, and apt to doe wrong, and the meanes of a War are easie against men at the next doore. Quit therefore that betroathed Islander, and the Money shee hath received restore, according to the Law of Nations, for a reparation of the resusal of her: and let my Son Radisis marry his Mother-in-

law, which our Lawes permit.

Hermegiclus gave this advise, and at the fortieth day dyed; and his Son taking the Kingdome, renounced his betroathed Spouse by the perswasion of his Nobles, and tooke his Mother-in-law to Wife. The contracted Lady could not brook the scorne done her, but was eager to revenge it. For so tender of their honour are the Barbarians of those parts, that after the name onely of a marriage without consummation, if the woman be refused, shee thinks her selfe profest a Strumpet. First shee sent Messengers to demand the reason of this rejection, seeing he could not charge her with incontinence, nor any other offence; but that way prevailing nothing, with a manly courage shee resolved upon a Warr: Shee got four hundred Ships and an hundred thousand men, whom her selfe led, with one of her Brothers to assist her. The Britisans are the bravest Infantry we know, but so unexercised in Horsemanship, that they know not what a Horse is, nor ever saw in

Brittia the Picture of any, where never any was bred.

When upon Ambassages they come abroad among the Romans, or Francks, and are put to necessity of riding, men lift them up, and set them upon their Horses; and so take them downe againe when they are to alight. The Varnians also are all Footmen. Aboard the aforesayd Fleet were none but rowers, for the Britians have no Sailes: Being landed upon the Continent, the Virgin-Generall encamped at the mouth of the Rhyne, where staying her selfe, shee sent out her Brother against the Enemy: He finding the Varnians neer the Sea shore encamped, had a battell with them and defeated them, where many fell, and the rest with their King fled, and were followed by the Angles as farr as foot-men could; who retyring to the Campe, were by the Lady chid, and especially her Brother, for having nothing worthy fuch an Army, feeing he brought not Radifis to her alive. Shee felected then her best men, and charged them to bring the man to her: who in the end found him concealed in a Wood, and brought him bound to the Lady. He flood before her trembling, expecting some cruell death: But shee onely reproaching to him the unjust affront he had done her, askt him why he would neglect his Vow, and bed another Woman, his owne Spouse not having committed who redome. He excused all upon the injunctions of a Father, and the importunity of his Nobles, mingling his apologie with supplications, and imputing the crime to necessity, promiling now, if it were her pleasure, to live with her, and by his future services to cure his former injury. The Lady was pleased, and Radifis loosed from his bonds was vouchfafed all manner of courtefie: And immediately he fent home the Sifter of Theodebert, and marryed this Brittian Lady,

In Brittia also is a Wall dividing a great part of the Island in two; the reason of it is, because to the Eastward is good ayre according to the seasons, and many civill Inhabitants, and they have Corne and Fruit-trees in abundance, and are well stored with waters. But to the Westward all is so contrary, that a man cannot live there halse an houre, the Countrey being possess with Adders and Snakes, and all sorts of venemous creatures. The natives affirme, that so soon as a man passes to the other side of the Wall, he instantly falls dead with the pestilential ayre; and

the like happens to Beafts.

In this description I am to mention a Story, or rather a Fable; I cannot think it true, though many men affirme to have seen it and been actors in it, neither must I absolutely reject it, least professing to write of the particularities of this Island, I be thought ignorant of the things done in it. They report that to this part of the Island are transported the Soules of the departed, by a meanes, which though I have heard in very good earnest related, yet I conceive that the first rumour of it spring from some dreaming heads. Along the Ocean shore, over against Britia, are many Villages, inhabited by Fishermen, Husbandmen, and Boatmen, who trassque in the Island; subjects they are to the Francks, but pay no Tribute, the exemption from which is granted unto them for a service which I will now relate. They have the employment of conducting Soules departed imposed on them by turnes; when

any

any mans turne comes, they goe home to bed towards night, expecting their fellow conductor; and at midnight they finde the door opened, and heare a foftly voice calling them to the butinesse: Instantly they rise, and go downe to the Seasade, finding themselves constrained to goe on, but they perceive not by whom: Boats they finde ready, with no men in them, and aboard they goe and sit to their Oares. They perceive the Boats loaded with Passengers even to the Deck; and the place of their Oares not an inch from the water: They see nothing, but after an houres rowing, come a Land in Brittia, whereas in their owne Boats they have much adoe to passe over in a day and a night, having no Sayles, but rowing onely. They instantly land their Fare, and are gone away with their Boats suddenly grown sight, and swimming with the current, and having all save the Keele above water: They see no men leaveing the Boat, but they heare a voice, relating to some, who it seems stayes there for them, the names of the Passengers, with their Titles, and additions of what Fathers they were; and (if women) of what Husbands. But to returne to my History, and to the Gothick Warr, having already spoken of the successes of other Provinces.

## CHAP. XIII.

HE Emperour, as I sayd before, had sent for Belisarius home, where he held him in honour, upon the death of Germanus: yet he would not send him into Italy; and though he were Generall of the East, he made him Commander of the Guards of his body, and kept him at Constantinople: And Belisarius was the cheise of all the Romans in dignity; some indeed had the priority of being made Patricians and Consults before him, but yet they yeilded the precedence to him, and were ashamed to make use of the Law, and to assume the right, which that gave them, against so eminent a vertue; and the Emperour took it well of them. But John, Sisters son of Vitalianus, past that Winter in Salona, whom the Roman Commanders in Italy expecting dayly, forbare any action. And the Winter ended, and the sixteenth year of this Warr written by Procopius.

The next yeare John resolving to lead the Army from Salona against Totilas, the Emperour commanded him to stay the comming of Narfes the Eunuch, whom he had made his absolute Generall in this warr. The reason of this determination of the Emperour was not knowne; for who can declare the counsels of his heart without his confent? But men did conjecture that his Majesty did consider how the rest of the Commanders would grudge to have their power lessened, and to be made subordinate to folm; whereupon either by contrary opinions, or through envy, they might purposely prejudice his affaires. I heard also this story at my former being at Rome from one of the Senators, That in the Raigne of Atalaricus, a heard of Cattell about evening came into Rome, and past through the Market place, called Forum pacis, where stood the ancient Temple of peace, and was thunder-strucken. Over against this Market place stands an ancient Conduit, and upon it a brazen Bullock, the work of Phidias the Athenian, or of Lysippus; there being in the fame place many Statues of their making, and upon one the name of Phidias is ingraven. There is here also the Bullock made by Myron: The ancient Romans being most studious to make all the fairest peices of Greece the ornaments of Rome. But the Senator told me, that an Oxe of this Heard was left behinde the rest, and got up to the Conduit, and stood above by the brazen Bullock; and that a Tuscan passing by, a plaine countrey fellow in appearance, but a pretended Southsayer (as all the Tulcans are ) fayd, That one day an Eunuch should depose the Prince of Rome. The Tulcan and his Divination was then laught at, as all predictions are before they be justified by the event, seeming till then ridiculous and fabulous: But now all men admire that his Interpretation, being convinced by the event. So that Narles was chosen Generall against Totilas, either the Emperour wisely foreseeing the successe, or fortune determining the same : And Narfes with a Gallant Army, and store of Treasure was dispatcht. He stayd a while in Thrace at Phillippopolis,

Incipit Annus 17 bel Goth in an 25 Justice Anno dom. 551. his way being stopt by an army of Hunnes, who drave and carried all away without opposition; but they being gone some towards The falonica, some towards Com-

stantinople, he marcht on, being hardly disengaged from them.

While This thus staid for Narfes at Salone and Narfes intangled with those Hunns marcht flowly : Totiles looking for Narfes coming. placed in Rome fome of the Sei nators, confined in Campania, and other Romans, Commanding them to guard the City, and profeshing to repent for what he had done to it. He had burnt the most part of it, especially beyond the Tiber; and these men being grown little better then Slaves, and stript of all they had, were so unable to vindicate the publick, that they could not get every man his ownpeculiar right: and yet are the Romans the best patriots in the world, fludying to recover from all parts, what belongs to their City, and to fave all the ancient Ornaments of Rome from perishing. During so long a subjection to Barbarians, how did they preserve their publick buildings and ornaments of their City! Even the original monuments of their race do yet laft, the sufficiency of those ancient workmen holding out against the ruines of time. and the negligence of men Among which there yet stands a miraculous spectacle. which my selfe have seen; the ship of Aneas the founder of their City: it is for one row of oares only, and of a huge length, being 120 foot long, and 25. broad It is so high only, as that men may row in it. The Timbers in it are not morteffed into one another, nor fastned by iron; but are every one of a peice, such as were never heard of, and are only found in this ship, that we can learn. For the keele being all one peice, reaches from the ftern to the foreship, and bowes by little and little into a convenient crookednesse, then strangely turnes straight again, and most aptly in proportion. The ribs also of the ship reach from side to side, crooking dewnwards, and bowing fo handsomely, that one would think the hollow bulk of the Ship to be made round and turned with instruments; either nature providing such a crookednesse in the Timber for the present use, or else those uneven ribs were sitted by mens hands, or Engins. Every planck also reaches from the stern to the foreship, being all of a peice, and have only spikes of iron to fasten them to the shipps ribs, and to make up her fides. Thus doth this ship affoard a fight beyond expresfion; ftrange workman-ships naturally rifing above discourse, and as they subdue common things by thenew invention, fo over-mastring evenspeech it selfe. And the thip is strong, and lufty yet, and found all through, none of the Timbers having any rottennesse appearing; as if the ship - wright (whatsoever he were) had lately built

Totilas also manned 300 Gallies with Goths, whom he commanded to pillage, and spoil the coast of Greece. This fleet hurt nothing, till it came to Coreyra, and ently the country of the Pheacians; being the only inhabited Island in this passage from the straits of Scylla. Having been often upon that Sea, I was curious where the Hand of Calypso was: I found only three small islands, some thirty seven miles from Pheacia, (now Corcyra) called Othone, from whence one may imagine Uliffes to have past to Corcyra, being no farther off, either in a boate made of a sudden, or otherwise; this is but my conjecture only. It is hard to discourse exactly of things fo ancient: Time changes the names of places, and the opinion formerly held of them. Upon the Sea shore in Coreyra stands the modell of a ship made of white stone, compounded of many severall stones, which some suppose to be the modell of that which transported Vliffes into Ithaca, after his entertainment with the Phaacians. But \* the being not of one stone, and the Letters ingraven upon it, proclaime the same to have been set there by some Merchant in ancient time, and dedicated to Jupiter Casius; the town also where this ship stands being yet called Cafipe. In Enbaa at Gerastum, there is also such a modell of a ship, dedicated by Agamemnon to Diana, to please her with this also, as he had, by the sacrifice of his Daughter Iphigenia, obtained of her a passage for the Grecian army to Troy. Which is testified by Letters ingraven upon it either then or afterward; the most of which time hath defaced, but at the beginning of the verses, they appear thus.

Neptune turned the ship which carried home Ulistes into a rock, su that it must be of on peice. ΙΛρύσατο της Αγαμέμνου,
Ελλήνου το Επίπε σημα πλοίζομένης.

Here Agamemnon plac'd this black-pitcht Barke,
Of the Greeks Army now at Sea a Mark.

And the Infeription thus,

Thuxos exole.
Apresusi Bodosia
Tenichus built
This to Diana Bolofia.

For fo anciently they called Eileithnia, or Lucina; terming the throwes and pangs of Childbirth, Bohás. But I returne from whence I digreffed.

### CHAP. XIV.

HE Goths with their fleet came to Corcyra, and forraged the Island, and the Islands also of Synta. They landed also upon the main land of Epirm, and pillaged the townes about Dodona and Nicopolis it selfe, and Anchitalm, where Anchises, the Father of Anaas sayling from Troy dyed, and gave the name to the Towne. They tooke upon the coast also many Greeke shippes, and some transporting Provisions to Narses Army. Totilas likewise fent an army into Picenia to take Ancona, commanded by Skipnar, and Giblas and Gundule, (called by some Indulse) formerly of the life-guard to Belisarius. He gave them forty seven gallies to block up the Castle by sea also. The Seige lasting long, and the besieged wanting victuall, Valerianus being at Ravenna, and unable alone to succour it, wrote this Letter to John, Vitalianus his Sisters Son, at Salona.

"Ancona you know is only left us within the Jonian Gulfe, if it be left us: it is fo "fharply befreged, that I fear our fuccours will come too late, and we shall use our "indeavour after our opportunity. I forbear to write more; the necessity of the befreged claimes all our time, and their danger permits not a long Epistle, requiring "fuccour swifter then speech.

John, though the Emperour had forbidden him to stir, adventured to go, conceiving the necessity, whereinto fortune had cast them, to dispence with the Emperours instructions: He chose his best souldiers, and put them aboard forty Gallies, swift of Sait, and well built for a Sea sight; and having surnished them with all necessaries, came with them before Ancona. Whether soon after came Valerianus with twelve ships: Upon conference together they rose from thence, and Anchor'd at a place called Senogallia, not far from Ancona. The Goths Generall also manned forty seven ships with their choice men, leaving the rest to block up the Castle: and sailed against the Romans. Skipnar commanded the men less behinde, and Giblas and Gundalfe those in the Ships. The Fleets being neer, each drew their ships as close together as might be and exhorted their men. John and Valerianus spake thus.

Think not fellow Souldiers! that you are to sight now only for the Castle of

"Think not fellow Souldiers! that you are to fight now only for the Caffe of Ancona, and the Romans in it; but that the main of the war depends upon this battell; and that the conclusion of our fortune is to be drawn in the same Lot with it. Consider, how the cheif moment of war consists in the expences of it, and that they who want supplies, are of necessity to be beaten in the End. Valour and hunger cannot dwell long together, nature not induring to pine with samine, and to sight bravely too: And other fortresse we have none between Otramo and Ravenna, where we can lay in any provisions for our selves or our Horses. And the Enemy being Master of the Country we have no place our freind, from whence to surnish any small proportion of victuals. In Ancona is our only hope,

where

where such as come from the opposite land may put in and ride safely. So that if we win this battell, and thereby assure Ancona, we may hope well of all the rest of this war; but if we be deseated, I will not speak any thing that is harsh. God grant unto the Romans the perpetual Dominion of Italy. And consider too, that if you speed ill now, you cannot so much as run away; the Enemy possessing all the land, and being also absolute master of the Sea. Our only hope of living now is in our armes, and depends upon our actions in this sight. Fight bravely therefore, having this in your minds, that if you now be beaten, it will be your last beating; if you conquer, you will be rancked with honour among the most happy.

Thus Iohn and Valerianus; and the Goths Commander spake thus. These wretched men, expulsed out of Italy, and long hid in some corners of the Sea and Land, seeing now they dare to fight with us again; it is our parts to check their unadvised presumption, least it grow higher being let alone. Folly, not restrained in the beginning, proceeds to endlesse daring, and at last ruines those it incounters. Shew them then quickly, that they are Greeks, and naturally cowards, and now grown desperate with being beaten. Take heed least they prosper upon this Experiment; Cowardize despited, becomes bold, and fool-hardinesse in the end may grow to be incapable of sear. And if you do valiantly, thinke not that they can stand long. A spirit not measured out proportionably to the power of him that uses it, commonly rises before the businesse; but when the battell is begun, it sinckes. Remember therefore the often tryals this Enemy hath made of your valour; & from their then successe, argue, that they are not now suddenly become better men; but have rash-

'ly undertaken as then, and will go off with the like fortune.

After these exhortations, the battell began, and was stoutly fought, and something like a land fight. They stood with all their ships in front against each other, and plied their Bowes. The forwardest grapled, and fought from the decks with Javelin and fword, as in a feild. But the Goths unexperienced in Sea-fights maintained the incounter with much diforder. Some stood aloofe, whereby the Romans fet on them fingle: Some came on fo thick, that they fell foule with their fellowes for want of Roome. Their ships stood jumbled together like so many baskets, that they could neither shoot at the Enemy, nor manage their Javelins nor swords; but were perpetually imployed in getting cleer of one another, with loud clamours, and confused pushing off with their long poles; intangling their front for want of roome, and then getting aloofe, and both to their own mischeise: their cries and hollowings were not against the Enemy, but to their own men to keep off; and thus puzzelling one another, they were the cheifest cause of the Enemies victory. Who in their close fights did valiantly, and in their Sea fights skillfully; keeping their ships in front, not too far afunder, nor more close then was convenient; And still joyning and severing in good proportion, when they faw an Enemies ship scatter'd, they struck at her, and with ease funck her; and where they saw the Enemy in consusion, thither they fent clouds of arrowes; then feeing them wearied with the toyle of their diforder, they fell on them and cut them in peices. The Goths desponding, did neither confider their crosse fortune, nor their own Errours; and being not able either to use their thips, nor to fight from their decks, they left fighting and fell to a dangerous quietneffe, committing themselves to fortune; and then betook themselves to a shameful and disorderly retreat, having no remembrance either of resisting, or of handesomly flying; but being feattered among their Enemies, they flood amazed. Eleven thips got away; the rest the Romans took, or sunck with the men in them. Giblas was taken Prisoner; but Gundulse escaped in the eleven ships, and the men being landed, he fet them on fire, that they might not come into the Enemies hands. Then they went a foot to Ancona, where relating the accident to their companions, they all retired from thence, leaving their camp for the Romans, and they ran tumultuoufly into Auximum. The Romans came to the Goths camp before Ancona, and took it. then put provisions into the Castle, and failed away, Valerianus to Ravenna, and John to Salona. This overthrow much abated the power of Totilas.

In Sicily at the same time thus it was. Liberius was sent for home to Constantineple, and Artabanes by the Emperour was made sole Commander of the army in Sicily; Who took in all the Cattles from the sew Gaths lest in the lland, after some sieges and overthrowes given them. The Gaths were terrified therewith, and with the late defeat at Sea, and their hearts with these losses were so dejected, that if any succours should come to the Romans, they had no thought of substitting, or of keeping their footing in Italy; nor could they hope to obtain any thing from the Emperour. For Totilas had sent many Ambassadours to the Emperour, shewing how the Francks had seised upon a great share of Italy, and how the rest was become wast: That the Goths should quit to him Sicily and Dalmatia, which only remained unspoyled; and should pay tribute for the wasted Lands in Italy, and serve the Emperour against all the World, and in other things be obedient to him. But the Emperour would take no notice of these overtures, but still sent away the Ambassadours, being distasted at the very name of Goths, and purposing to chase them out of the Roman Empire.

# CHAP. XV.

OT long before dyed Theodebert King of the Francks, having unjuftly made tributary some Townes in Ligaria, and the Cottian Alpes, and a great part of Venetia: The Francks thus getting without blowes, what the two Antagonists were busily fighting for. In Venetia the Goths had little; the Sea-townes the Romans had, and the Francks feifed upon the rest, while neither the Goths nor Romans had leifure to make new Enemies. The Goths also came to this agreement with the Francks; that during the War with the Em-"perour, both should hold what they had, and for beare hostility. If Totilas conquer, that then the said acquisitions of the Francks be disposed, as should be a-"greed between the parties. But in the Kingdome of Theodebert succeeded Thendibald his Son, to whom the Emperour fent Leontius a Senator, and Son-in-law to Athanafius, his Ambassadour, to perswade a League against Totilas, and to demand the Townes in Italy, unjustly held by Theodebert, and surprised during the Truce. The Ambassadour spake thus to Theudibald. "Others, Sir, (it may be) have "had Accidents which they expected not, but no men (I think) such as the Re-"mans have had from you. The Emperour entred not into this VVar, nay not "into any expollulation with the Goths, before the Francks had received great fums of money of him, and had promised aides, and the conjunction of their Forces: "VVhich Accord they have not only not performed, but have done us injuries, "which none could imagine. Your Father Theodebert hath intruded into a Pro-"vince by the Emperour, acquired with much toile and hazard, and with the "Francks consent. But I come not to chide, nor complain, but to demand only, and "therewithall to give you this advise; to establish the prosperity you have, and to "let the Romans have that which is theirs. Some small thing often times unjustly gotten, is the occasion of losing greate and powerfult acquisitions; stable happinesse, and injustice never meeting in one point. I advise you likewise to joyn "in this War, according to your Fathers engagement to the Emperour. Nothing "becomes good Sonnes better, then to rectifie their Fathers erroneous Pro"ceedings, and to ratifie what they have well done.

"The wish of a wise man is, that his Son may emulate his vertuous Actions, and if he have done any thing amisse, he wishes another may rather imitate it, then his Son. Indeed you should not have needed invitation to this War against the Goths, originally your Enemies, and false to you of old, and ever in War with you, without truce or quarter. Now for seare of us they sawn upon you, but being rid of us, they will soon shew their intentions. Wicked men change not their Natures with their Fortunes; in adversities indeed they hide them, esteppedially when they have need of a Neighbour. Consider this, and renew your "Amity with the Emperour, and take a revenge against your ancient Enemies."

Theudibald answered this Speech in this manner.

"It is not now just in you, to demand our affishance against the Goths, now in "Amity with us; If we prove unsure to them, we shall not be trusty to you. A "bad disposition to Friends being once discovered, puts aman for feare out of the "right way. Concerning the Townes you mention, my Father Theodebert was no oppressor

"oppressour of his Neighbours, nor intruder: And it appeares so, for I am not rich; And he took not the Townes from the Emperour, but got them fairely from Totilas, the then owner of them, which should please the Emperour, to see one who wronged him, disseised by another, and thereby justly punished, unlesse because he would have them himselfe, and cannot get them, he will envie him that can. But let us refer the examination of these things to Arbitrators: If it shall appeare that my Father hath taken any thing unjustly from the Romans, there is reason we should give satisfaction: And we will shortly send our Ambassadours to Constantinople, touching the same. With this he dismissed Leontius; and sent Lendard a Franck his Ambassadour to Justinian, with three others; who at Constantinople effected what they came about.

Totilas defired to get the Islands belonging to Africk, and he sent an Army to Corsica, and Sardinia, which he made tributary to him. John the Generall of Africk, sent presently to Sardinia some Forces, who besieged the City of Carnalis; blocking it up only but not able to assault it, having a very sufficient Garrison of Goths within, which sallied suddenly, and routed the Romans; who having lost many, ran to their Ships, and returned to Carthage, where they wintered, purposing in the Spring to renew the Voyage with greater preparations. There growes an Herb in this Island of Sardinia, which being tasted, puts men into satall Convulsions, wherein they seem to laugh, and quickly dye of it; whence is called the Sardonian laughter. Corsica was anciently named Cyrnus, and in it, as there is a Generation of Dwarfes, so there are races of horses not much bigger then sheep.

A mighty troup at that time of Slavonians, fel upon Illycium, committing mischeifs not to be exprest. Justinian sent against them an army commanded by the Sonnes of Germanus, and others. Who being much fewer then the Enemy, durst not fight; but infested their Reare, and cut off some, & sent of them some prisoners to the Emperour. These Barbarians did infinite hurt, long pillaging the Country, and strewing the high wayes with dead bodies, and then went home with innumerable prifoners, and all their booty, none incountring them. The Romans could not infelt them in their passage over the Ister, because the Gapedes transported them, and had for every head a gold stater for their fare: This troubled the Emperour, having no means to restrain their passage over the River Ister, to spoile the Empire, nor their fudden retreat, which made him refolve to make a League with the Gapedes who were then again quarrelling with the Lombards, and fearing the power of the Romans. (who had lately fworn a league with the Lombards) they endeavoured to be admitted freinds and Auxiliaries. They fent Ambassadors accordingly, and the Emperour swore a league with them also, and upon the demand of the Ambassadors, twelve Senatots sware it likewise. Shortly after, the Emperout sent an army to aide the Lombards against the Gapedes, whom he charged fince the League, to have transported Slavonians over the River Ister against the Romans. The Army was commanded by Iustine & Instinian the Sons of Germanus, & Aratius and Swartwall, formerly made Prince of the Hernlians by the Emperor, but banished (as I said before) by the Herulians of Thule, and returning to Constantinople made Generall of the Cohorts there. There was likewise Amalafridas a Goth, the Daughters Son of Amalafridas (who was Sister to Theoderick ) by Hermenifrid Prince of the Thuringians, who being brought to Constantinople by Belisarius with Vitigis, the Emperour made him Commander of Roman troops, and betrothed his Sifter to Auduin Prince of the Lombards. Of the aforesaid army only, that Amalafridas with his troops, came to the Lombards, the rest by the Emperours direction staid about the City of Ulpiana, in Illyrium, where was a mutiny among the inhabitants about things, wherein Christians contend among themselves, as shall be set down in my relations concerning the same. The Lombards with Amalafridas invaded the Gapedes, and in a battell defeated them, and killed many: And Auduin their King sent the good newes to the Emperour of his victory; but complained of the not coming up of the Emperours army according to the League; fo great numbers of Lombards having been so lately fent by him to aid Narles against Totilas.

### CHAP. XVI.

Reat Earthquakes at that time happened in Baotia; and Achaia, and other parts of Greece, about the Gulfe of Crisaum, overthrowing many Cities, as Cheronea, Corone, Patra, and Naupactus. Many men perished, and in many places, by the renting of the Earth, were made bottomlesse holes; some whereof closed again afterward, some continue still so, that the people are to compasse much Ground to come to one another. The arme of the Sea between Thessay and Baotia, showed up into the land about the City of Echina, & Scarphia in Baotia, & overwhelmed all the Towns there. The waters lay long, & men went into the Iland lying upon that arm of the Sea on dry land, while the Sea leaving her ancient current covered the firm land even to the mountaines. Afterward it returned to the channels again, leaving the sishes upon the land; a strange & prodigious accident; For some tried to seeth and eat them; but no sooner heated, but they turned to a slymy matter, extreamly putrished. In one town, where the greatest breach was, the people being assembled at a great session.

But in Italy, the Crotonians, and the Garrison commanded by Palladius, being sharpely besieged by the Goths, and wanting food, had sent to Artabanes in Sicily, protesting, if they were not instantly succoured, to yield the Town and themselves too. But no succour was sent, and so ended the winter, and the seventeenth year

of this war, written by Procopins.

The Emperour commanded the Garrison at Thermopyla, in Greece, to fail for Italy and to releive Crotona. Who getting a faire wind, came unexpected into the Haven of Crotona. The Goths upon fight of the fleet rose from their siege in much fear and tumult, and fled some by sea to Tarentum, others ran from their trenches up to the mountain of Scyllaum. These things much dejected the Goths: And Ragnaris Commander of the Garrison in Tarentum, and Morras of that in Archerontia, two principall Goths, with their Souldiers affent, had a treaty with Bacurius, the Sonne of Peranius, Commander of the Romans in Otranto, for receiving affurances from the Emperour, and thereupon to deliver up the townes in their Guard: the Capitulation Bacurius took with him to Constantinople. And now Narses marcht from Salone against Totilas, with a very gallant army; having received much treasure from the Emperor to levy & furnish the same, & above al to pay to the Souldiers in Italy their arreares, which were grown great, being due for many years. He was with this mony also to invite the revolted, to return again from the Goths to the Romans: The Emperor in the beginning of this war made it very carelelly, but now his preparations were very great; for Narses seeing him eager to have him to lead the army into Italy, did like a brave Generall, protesting herein not to serve the Emperours commands, unleffe he might have competent forces; and by this resolution, he procured mony, men, and armes, befitting the Roman Empire. Then with much alacrity he made up gallant companies out of the Constantinopolitan Guards, and Garrisons of Thrace, and many he raised in Illgrium. With him went John with his own Troops, and those left him by Germanus his Father in Law. Audnin also, prince of the Lombards, in accomplishment of the league, and for great summes given him by the Emperour, fent five and twenty hundred selected men for auxiliaries, accompanied with a retinue of above three thousand men. Narses had also three thousand Herulians, all horsemen, commanded by Philimuth and others, and he had many Hunnes. Dagistheus also was with him with his troops, being discharged of his imprisonment for the same purpose. Cabades went also with many Persian fugitives, who was the Son of Zames, and Grand-child of King Cabades, and long age came into the Empire; having by the practice of Chanaranges escaped his uncle Chosroes; and a young Gepade very valiant, named Asbadas, with four hundred Gepades, good Souldiers. And Arnth an Hernlian, from a child bred among the Romans, and married to the widow of Mauricius the Son of Mundus, a gallant man, and accompanied with many old Souldiers of his Nation; John Phagas also commanding many Romans, good Souldiers. Narses was a man liberall, and most forward in releiving men in want; using his disposition the more easily, by reason of his great power with

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Incipit Annus 18. Bell. Goth. in an. 26. Justiniani. Et An.Dom. 552.

the Emperour, fo that he had obliged many, both commanders and common Souldiers; who all upon his being now Generall were eager to ferve under him, both in acknowledgement of former favours, and in expectation of great advancements by him. Above all, the Herulians, and other Barbarians loved him, having done them many benefits. Being come upon the Confines of Venetia, he fent to the Captaines of the Francks, to demand passage as for freinds. They refused it, and protested to hinder it, both for the Francks good, and for their amity with the Goths; pretending also a poor excuse; because Narses had with him Lombards, their greatest Enemies. Narfes was troubled at it; but was told by some Italians, that if the Frankles gave him passage, he could not from thence get to Ravenna, nor further possible then to Verona. For Totilas had placed in Verona a choice number of Goths under Teias, a most valiant Generall, to lye in the Romans way. This Tejas had stopt up all the passages with workes, and made in some places with much art and labour thickets, in others, ditches, deep holes, and bogs, and overflowed the Grounds; and himself lay with his army ready to fight with the Roman army attempting to force their way. This was done by Totilas direction, knowing how the Romans would not be able to passe along the Sea-coast, by so many great Rivers mouths, which made the shore unpassable; and how they had not ships enough to transport the whole army at once over the Gulfe, and coming but few at once, that he might easily hinder their landing. Narfes being herewith much perplexed, John, who knew those parts exactly, advised him to march with the army by the Sea-shore, the people there being their subjects; and to be attended with some ships, and many boats, with which boats they might make a bridge over the currents of those rivers, and so make their passages: Narses followed this advise, and got to Ravenna with his whole ar-

# CHAP. XVII.

Uring the wars, came to Constantinople Ildigifall, a Lombard. The Kingdome of the Lombards of right belonged to him, but Anduin forced it from him, whereupon he fled his country. Infinian entertained him with favour,& made him Captaine of one of the Cohorts, called Schola,, which guard the Pallace. He had three hundred followers his country men, who had been bred fometime with him in Thrace. Auduin demanded him of the Emperour, as a reward due to his freindship, and late confederacy; but the Emperour would not deliver him to him. This Ildigifall afterward grew discontented at the meanness of his entertainments; which Goar perceived, a Goth, taken in Dalmatia, in the warrs of Vitigit, and fent Prisoner to Dalmatia, being a man proud and valiant, and repining at his condition, and upon the late revolt of the Goths in Italy, he was discovered to plot against the Roman State. This Goar perswaded Ildigifall to run from Constantinople, promising to accompany him; and so with some few with them they came to Apri, a City in Thrace, joyned with some Lembards they found there, and taking many Horses from the Emperours Horse-pastures in Thrace, they went forward. The Emperour commanded the Companies in Thrace and Illyrium to oppose these Fugitives. First they were fought with by Cuturgarian Hunnes, lately planted in Thrace by the Emperour (as hath been fayd) But they beat these Hunnes and killed many, and then past through Thrace with their Troops, none disturbing them. In Illyrium they found an Army levyed against them, commanded by Aratius, Recithangus, Leonianus, Arimuth, and others: Who having rode all day, resolved in the evening to lodge in a woody ground, and taking with them each three or four Souldiers, went to drinke of the River, being extreamly thirty. Ildigifall and Goar, underkanding of their being there by their Scouts, fell fuddenly upon them, and killed them all; and thenceforward marcht on at their case, the Souldiers perplexed, and without Commanders ryding back againe. They went then to the Gepades: from the Gepades was also fled one Ufrigoth, the onely Son of Elimund late King of the Gepades, who being suppressed by Thorisin, and but a Boy, fled to the Lombards: but the Lombards,

thards, Gepades, and the Emperious making peace, and swearing a perpetuall amity, both the Emperious and Andria, Prince of the Lombards, sent to Thorisin to deliver to them their common Enemy Ildigitall, requiring thus, for an expression of their new made amity, the betraying of a poor man come for refuge. Thorisin demanded herein the opinion of the principall Gopades; who plainely disadvised it, protesting to chuse rather to perish with their Wives and Children, then to be guilty of so foule an impiety. The Prince being unable to doe it without the consent of his Subjects; and unwilling to revive the Warr with the Romans and Lombards, sent to Auduin; and demanded of him Ostrigath; the Son of Elimund, provoking him to a like saturd, and to betray servant for servant, that his owne loathnesse in the like absurdity might check his request to another. But Auduin consented, and they both resolved upon this unjust act, and not daring to acquaint their Subjects with impubliquely; each treacherously killed his Enemy; I for beare to tell the manner, the reports differing, as happens in all secret actions. And this was the fortune of this field.

But in Ravieund, Valerianns and Justinus the Generalls, and the remainder of the Roman Army joyned with Nurses. Nine dayes after Uldrilas a Goth, Commander

of the Garrison at Ariminum, wrote this Letter to Valerianus:

After you had filled the World with rumours, and possess Italy with phamasmes, thinking to scare away the Goths with your bigg looks; now you have enclosed your selves in Ravenna, that an Enemy may not see your faint hearts, which you cover with the same brave countenance, and sye with your mingled multitude of Barbarians upon a Country, wherein you have no right: For shame rise from thence and fight, shew your selves; keep us not thus under a tedious expectation: We attend you like specta-

tors in a Theatre to fee a fight.

Narfes laughed at the Letter, and the vanity of the Goths, and forthwith began his journey, leaving fustions in Ravenna with a Garrison. At Ariminum he found the Bridge newly taken up by the Goths, and his passage not eatie; by the Bridge it lelie was never any passage but by one man a breast, unarmed and a foot, with much adoe; though none disturbed; but now numbers opposing, it was not possible to setty over. Narses came to the place where the Bridge had been, and studyed upon some expedient in this difficulty. Thither came also Usarilas with some Horse, to observe the Ramans proceeding. A Souldier of Narses let flye an Arrow amongst them, and killed a Horseman; whereat Ofdrilas removed in some hatte, and put himselfe within the Towne, and immediately at another Gate sallyed with others of his best men; thinking to take Narles suddenly, and to cut him in peices, being now searching in another part of the River for a passage. But some Herulians by accident encountred, and killed him; and a Roman knowing him, brought his head to Narfes; which filled them with courage, to see God fight for them, and the Goths having a plot upon their Generall, to lose their owne Commander suddenly, not by any humane designe or providence. But Narses medled not with Ariminum, though Usdrilas were flaine, nor with any other Enemy-towne, that he might not retard his maine defigne, nor distract it by any by-businesse. And the Enemy in Ariminum, having loft their Commander, gave no impediment to him in the making a Bridge, by which he past the River at his ease. He left Via Flaminia, and took the left hand way; for the Enemy had taken the firong Rock of Petra pertusa; described by me before, and all other pieces upon Via Flaminia, which made it unpassable for the Romans; and therefore he left the shorter, and went the quieter way. Coll. Ever

## CHAP. XVIII.

with Teias about Rome. Who being all come up fave two thousand Horse, without staying longer for them, he martcht away with the rest, purposing to fight with the Romans at his best conveniency. In his way, hearing the

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new

news of Uldrilas, and how the Enemy was past the River at Ariminum, he marche through Tufcany to the Appennine, and in a Village there called Tragina encamped. Afterward came Narfes, and fate downe upon the Apenmine alio; in an even peice of ground, twelve miles and a halfe from the Enemy. About the place were many little round Hills, being the Tombs of the Gaules flaine by Camillus and the Romans and they are to this day called Bufta Gallorum; Bufta in Latine being the remainders and reliques of a funerall Pile. Warfes fent fome unto Totilar to defire him to to lay afide Hostility, and to entertaine at last peaceable counsells, representing how impossible it was for him, having under him but few men, and them not held together by any Law, to contend long with the whole Reman Empire. And he direct. ed his Ambassadors, if they saw Totilas resolved upon War, to bid him instantly appoint a day for a pitcht Battell. They did accordingly, and Totilas with a brave countenance told them, that by any means they must have Warr. Noble Sir, then quoth they, what time appoint you for the Battell ? Eight dayes hence, quoth he we will meet you. Narles hearing this report from the Embassadors, suspecting some cunning in Totilus, prepared, as to fight the next day: And he was in the right; for the next day Totilus came with his whole Army. And they lay one against the other about a flight shot off: Both parts had a minde to possesse a little Hill, to gaine advantage of upper ground to shoot downe on the Enemy, and there being also no beaten way to the Roman Campe but by that Hill (the Campe being compassed by those round Hills I mentioned) they esteemed it an important place, for the Goths to gaule the Romans every way, and for the Romans to prevent that inconvenience. Narses in the night time sent fifty choice men, who surprized the place, none opposing. Before the Hill, and neer the beaten way opposite to the Goths Quarters runs a Brook; by this the fifty Romans flood close, body to body, putting themselves into a square forme. In the morning Totilas perceiving them, fent a Troop of Horse to beat them away; who rode against them furiously and with clamour, as if they would drive them away at the first onset: But they stood thick and firme, and fenced close with their Sheilds, which clashing together, and charging their Lances in fit time, all at once in order, they bravely refifted the Goths hot affault; frighting their Horses with the noise of their Sheilds, and the men with the points of their Lances. The Horses slew back, having space enough to retire, and the men crying aloud to them, could not be heard; but were thus beaten off. They came on againe, and found the fame entertainment, and went off; and failing often, in the end they gave it over. Totilas commanded out another Troop of Horse, who sped as the former, and so did others after that; and Totila having tryed many Troops, and doing no good, in the end quitted the businesse; whereby these fifty men got much reputation, but especially Paul and Austlas; who drawing their Cimiters, layd them before them; then made many shots upon the Enemy, which killed many both men and Horses; and their Quivers being empty, they took up their Swords and Sheilds, and alone opposed the affailants, cutting of with their Swords their Lances heads. And Paul having bowed his Sword with cutting the Lances, he threw it away, and fnatcht from the Enemy four Lances, and by his valour was the greatest cause of their despairing. Narses for this service made him one of his Targeteirs. In the meane time both parts prepared for the Battell Narses spake thus to his Souldiers.

"When a Battell is to be with equall powers, happily it is necessary with encor-"ragements to get some advantage of the Enemy for the Victory: But you, fellow "Souldiers! being to fight with men inferiour in valour, numbers, all kinde of " preparations, need no more but with Gods propitious to begin this Battell. Ever "then with your prayers making him your affiltant, march on with a noble fcorn a-"gainst these theeves, the ancient Slaves of our Emperour, and now Fugitives; "though for a time they have troubled us, having gotten to themselves a Tyrant "pickt out of their multitude. Indeed reasoning probably, it is most strange that "these men should so much as stand in ranck against us. They are weary of living, " and like brutes and mad men run upon a manifelt death; and from that reasonlesse "resolution, as they can have no hopes, so they care not what befalls them, being " men brought hither by God to be punished for their ill government. When men have a fentence against them above, they run themselves into their just chaltile"ment. You do likewise hazard in this Battell for a lawfull State, but they are Rebels, and struggle against the Lawes. They thinke not to leave their estates to their Posterity, and therefore live in momentany comforts, which they know will be lost with their owne breath: So that they are to be despised. Men without Law and Government all good hopes faile, and Victory abandons, which uses not to forsake the good cause.

Totila alfo, feeing his Troops appreheasive of the Roman Army, used this ex-

hortation. "I am now, fellow Souldiers! to make to you my last Speech; we shall need "no more after this day, which certainly will conclude the fortune of the Warr. "Both our felves and the Emperour are even fo spent with toyles, fights, and other "necessities, that he that beats his Enemy, shall have need to fight no more, and "he that is beaten will have a faire excuse to be quiet. When men reap from their "affaires miserable fruits; they dare no more returne to them, but even in occafions vehemently preffing, their judgements thart back upon the memory of their former misfortunes. So that now it is you must fight, referve not your valour for any other time, and endure now the labour, not preferving your bodies for another hazard; and spare not Armes nor Horses, as things that will no more "be usefull to you. Fortune having ruined all the rest, hath left us this day as "the utmost of our hopes. Use now your courage, venture boldly; our hopes "hanging upon such a haire, we must not be remisse for the least moment of time. "The point of opportunity being past, the greatest endeavours afterward faile: "the nature of these affaires not admitting stale valour; all must be unseasonable "that comes after the occasion. So that let us doe effectually now, that we may "finde the benefit of what we doe, and affure our felves that running away is most "ruinous. Men leave their rancks and flye, that they may live; but when flying brings certaine destruction, he that stands the danger is fafer then he that flyes. "And let us despise our Enemies, a mingled multitude of many Nations. Such Au-"xiliaries are neither faithfull, nor powerfull. As they are of severall Nations, they "have severall intentions also; and thinke not that the Hunnes, Hernlians, and Lombards will hazard to the death, or esteeme their lives at a lesse rate then the "Romans Money. They make a countenance of fighting, but will turne cowards "when they please; either after receite of their payes, or upon their Commanders "direction. The most agreeable things not done freely, but upon the necessity either of compulsion or hire, please not, but become greivous at last. Consider all this, and fight with alacrity.

The Battells were thus put in order: they stood both in front, as deepe and as long as they could make it. The left wing of the Romans Narses and John had, neer the Hill, with the choicest men of the Army, being both followed with many Lanciers and Targettiers, and excellent Hunnes, besides their Souldiers on the List. In the right wing were Valerianus, John Phagas, and Dagisthaus, with the rest of the Roman Souldiers. The Battalion was of eight thousand foot, and the Archers of the List; and between the same and both the wings were placed the Lombards, Hernlians; and other Barbarians; all whom Narses caused to alight from their Horses, and to serve as footmen, that if they should turne willing Cowards, they might slye but slowly. The left wing he put into the forme of a Wedge, and he set there fifteen hundred Horse-men, whereof sive hundred were to relieve the Romans, in case they should be put to the worst; and the other thousand in the sight to get the backs of the Enemies soot, and to gaul them. Totilas placed his Army in like manner, and rode about, with his countenance and words animating his Souldiers. Narses did the like, holding out to them gilt Chaines and Bridles, as the Prizes of

their valour that day.

## CHAP. XIX.

Oth the Armies a while stood still, expecting each their Enemies assault: Then a Goth named Cocas, much esteemed for valour, rode up to the Roman Army, challenging

challenging any to fight with him. He had been a Roman Souldier, and revolted to Totilas; to whom Anzalas an Armenica, and Lancier to Narfes rode out: Conas spurd on to give the first blow with his Lance, ayming at his belly; Ansalas turned his Horse afide, and avoyded the blow, then thrust his Lance into his left lide at which the Goth fell downe dead, and the Romans shouted. Then Tark as put him felfe between the Armies, not to fight a Duell, but to dally out the time, understanding the two thousand Horse to be at hand, untill whose coming he would put off the Battell. He concealed who he was, wearing a Gilt Armour, and from his Headpeice and Lance hung downe streamers of purple; and he was a gallant fight, being bravely horst. He acted his feats of Armes skilfully i wanding his Horse round in a circle; then turning short, and making many such circular passages He toft his Lance into the avre in his full carriere, then caught it as it came downe againe, and removing it skilfully from one hand to another, he took much pride in his dexterity therein; lying upon his back, and putting himfelfe upon his Buttocks; and bowing this way and that way, like a Youth exactly taught all the pricks of a Dancing schoole. He spent a great part of the asternoone in these exercises; then to gaine more time, fent to the Roman Army, offering a Parley. Narles fayd, he juggled, being before all for Warr, and now making Propolitions when the Bartells were to joyne. In the meane time came the two thouland Horse, which when Totilas understood, and it being Dinner time, he caused the Army to draw off, and he went to his Tent; where in his owne quarter he found the two thousand Horse. He commanded his Troops to dine, and himselfe put on another Armour, then led out suddenly against the Enemy, thinking to surprize them unprepared; But Narfer fearing what happened, forbade his men to retyre to their Dinner or afternoons repose, or to put off their Corslets, or to unbridle their Horses; commanding them in their rancks, with their Armour on, to take a bit, and to have a perpetual eye upon the Enemies returne. They flood in the fame order still, faving that Nav les put both the wings, with an addition of four thousand Foot, into the forme of a halfe moone.

The Goths Infantry stood behinde their Horse, to receive them being routed within their rancks, and joyntly to renue the charge. Torilas commanded his men, not to use their Arrows but their Lances; which senslesse stratagem ruined him, making hereby his Army inferiour in their offensive weapons, as in all things else. For the Romans used, according to the occasion, their Arrows and Lances, and came up to the Sword, and did all which the prefent occasion required, either charging on Horseback, or on foot, to their best advantage; and sometimes compassing the Enemy, sometimes standing his charges. But the Goths Horse, without their Foot, came on with unadvised fury, trufting onely to their Lances; and being in the midst of the Romans, they found their errour, being ingaged among eight thousand Foot: By whom being gaulled on all sides, they despaired: Our Archers drawing home the two ends of their Bowes even to their foreheads, and round like a halfe moon; so that the Goths, before they could touch the Romans Horse, had loft many men and Horses. And after much mischeise sustained, they came late up to the Romans Battalion of Horse; where the Romans and Auxiliaries strove with equall valour, each one receiving the Enemy bravely, and repelling them. Then the Evening coming on, the Goths began to retyre, and the Romans to purfue; the Goths being not able to stand after their first furious charge, but turning about in confusion, daunted with the Romans numbers and good order: And they gave over fighting & thinking that some Spirits fell upon them, and that Heaven it selse fought against them. When they came to their Foot, there their milcheife encreased; for they came not in any orderly retreat, as to take breath for a new charge, or for any other point of Warr, but ran in among them so confusedly, spoyling many, that they opened not their rancks to receive them, but ran away with them for company, and it growing darke they destroyed one another. The Romans killed them in this feare, sparing none, and none daring to look them in the faces, who exposing themselves to their Enemies, were pursued with terrours, and mastered with cowardife. Six thousand were slaine, and many taken Prisoners, and not long after put to the Sword. Among them perished many Roman Souldiers, who had revolted to Totilas. And now the darknesse concluded the fight. Totilas fled in the darke' darke with five men, of whom Shipuar was one; he was purfued by fome Romans who knew him not; among whom was Albades a Gepade, who had overtaken him, and was making a blow at him: but a Gotbish Boy following his flying Mafter, cryed out, Thou Dog! Doest thou run after thine owne Master to kill him? But Albades thrust his Lance forcibly into Totilas, and was himselse hurt in the foot by Skipnar, that he could follow no further; Skipnar also being wounded, stood Itill: And the foure men with Albades followed no further, but carryed off Albades. Those who accompanyed Totilas rode on amaine (thinking the Enemy purfued ftill ) and drew him after them, mortally wounded, and ready to expire. Having run about ten miles, they came to a Towne called Capra; there they rested, and dreffed the wound of Totilus, who foon after gave up the ghost: There they buryed him and went away. Such a conclusion of his life and raigne had Totilas. having been King of the Goths eleven yeares; an end not fuitable to his former actions and successes. Fortune in him insulted upon the fraile condition of man, shewing her strange proceeding, and absolute will. Shee had without any apparent merit bestowed on Totilas a long time of happinesse; and now upon the sudden the hurryed him at her owne pleature into cowardife, and an ignoble death. These are things to men incomprehentible, but in all ages have been discoursed of according to mens conceits and fancies, to comfort their ignorance with fome feeming probabilities. But the Romans knew not of the death of Totilas, till a Gothish woman told it, and shewed his Grave; who distrusting the report, opened the Grave, digged up the Coffin, and took out the body, and finding it to be Totilas, they put him into the ground againe, and reported all to Narfes. Some report this overthrow otherwise, that the Goths did not make that unadvised retreat; but that in the first skirmishing with the Romans, suddenly an Arrow, and by chance lighted upon Torilas. For being armed like a common Souldier, and rancked among them in the Battalion to conceale himselfe, he could not be knowne, nor purposely shot at But that being mortally wounded, in great paine he gallopt away with some few with him to Capra, and after much mitery and languishing, dyed under the cure. And that the Goths amazed to fee their King thus mortally wounded, and gone off, being otherwise too weak, then became who!ly out of heart, and fell into that astonishment and shamefull running away.

### CHAP, XX.

But howfoever this fell out; Narfes rejoycing at the successe, took the True course, to attribute all unto God: And he took order in the present occasions; and first, to be rid of his unrulely Lombards, who were infinitely disorderly, and burned houses, and ravished Women that sted into Churches. He bestowed store of money on them for their Service, and sent them home; commanding Valerianus, and Damianus, his Sisters Son, with their Troops to conduct them out of the Roman Consines, that they might do no mischiese in their way home-ward. And so soon as thesewere out of the Roman Territories, Valerianus besieged Verona; and the Garrison in it came to some Capitulation with him for rendring the Town: But the Francks Garrison'd in the Townes of Veneria hindred it, seeking with all their endeavour to get the whole Country to themselves; whereupon Valerianus retired without effecting any thing.

The Goths who fled from the overthrow, went over the River Poe, and put themselves into the City of Picenum, and other Townes about it, and made Teins their King. He with the Treasures left by Totilus in Picenum, sought to draw the Francks to his aide, and governed the Goths as he could in that Estate, assembling them together. Narles advertised thereof, commanded Valerianus to keep his Troops about the River Poe, to make the Goths rallying difficult: Himselfe with the rest of the Army marcht towards Rome. In Tuscany he took in Narnia, and put a Garrison into Spolerum, with direction to reedisie the Walls demolished by the Goths. He sent Troops also to attempt Perusia, commanded by two Fugitive Romans, Meligedius, and Vlithus; who being one of the Life-guard to Cyprianus,

was wonne by the allurements of Totilas to murther him, Commander of the Roman Garrison there. Melegedius accepted the offers of Narses, and consulted with his own Followers to yeild the Town; which Vlithus with his Friends openly oppoling, was flain in the Fight, and the Town was rendred to the Romans. Thus by Gods just Vengeance was Ulithus slain in the very place, where he had murthered

his Commander Cyprianus.

The Goths Garrison'd in Rome, hearing of the approach of Narfes, put in readinesse to encounter him, as they could. At his first taking Rome, Totilas had burnt most of the Buildings of the City; and then considering how the Goths had not men enough left to Guard the whole Circuit of it, he took in with a leffer Wall a small part thereof, about Adrians Tomb, joyn'd it to the City Walls, and so made it as a Castle; wherein the Goths laid their things of Value, and guarded it carefully, neglecting the rest of the Walls. Yet then desirous to try the Enemy, they left a few to guard that Castle, and put themselves upon the Battlements. The Circuite of Rome fo vast neither could the Romans encompasse, nor the Goths guard; so that the affaults, and defences were accidentally in feverall places, as the occasions were. Narses charged one part with multitudes of Archers; in another John, Sitters Son to Vitalianus, fell on with his Troops. Another part Philimuth and his Herulians infelted, and they were far diffant from one another; the Goths bravely resitting their Charges; and being assembled all where the Romans fell on the rest of the Walls were empty. Dagisthaus, with Narses consent, took some Troopes with the Enfignes of Narses, and John, and scaling Ladders, and set upon a part quite destitute of Guards, and at his ease he mounted by his Ladders, none refishing; and then fet upon the Gates : the Goths feeing this, left their Guards and ran all away; fome to their new Castle, others to Portus. Writing this, it comes into my thoughts, how Fortune plaies with poor men; changing her looks with the times and places, and varying suddenly not only her own humour, but even the value and worth of the men. Beffas formerly lost Rome unworthily, and afterward recovered Petra in Lazica very bravely. And on the contrary, Dazishaus poorly rangway from Petra, and now foon after recovers Rome it selfe to the Emperour. These things have been done from the beginning, and will be, while there is Fortuneamong men. Narfes then marcht against the new Castle; But the Goths yeilded it and themselves, upon affurances for their Persons; Justinian being now in the 26th. yeare of his Reigne. Thus was Rome taken five times in his Reigne, and Narfes fent the Keyes of it to the Emperour. To the Roman Senate and People, this Victory proved an extream ruine; So to men that must have a mischiese, even their seeming good Fortunes turn to their destruction; that having had a faire course, they both lose it, and undo themselves. For the Goths, now despairing of the Dominion of Italy, in their flight killed all the Romans they found; And the Barbarians of the Roman Army alto, at their entring the City, used them all as Enemies. Many Senators also confined by Totilas in Campania, and now repairing to Rome ( when they heard it to be in the Emperours possession) the Goths quartered in the Townes of those parts, killed, and left not one Patritian alive. Maximus was then flain, whom I have mentioned formerly. Totilas alto, going against Narses, called for all the Sons of the principall Romans, and choosing out 300. of the goodlieft of them, pretending to breed them, but indeed holding them for Hostages: And he sent them beyond the River Poe; whom Teias now finding there, killed them all.

Moreover, Ragnaris a Goth, who commanded in Tarentum, and had compounded with Bacurius, (as I have faid) to yeild the City to the Emperour, and given fix Goths for Hostages: Now hearing of the Election of Teins, and that the Franchi were defired to aide him, and he immediately to march against the Romans, herefused to perform the composition; and to get his Hostages again, he sent one to Bacurius for a convoy of Souldiers to Otranto, from whence (he faid) he would go to Constantinople. Bacurius, not suspecting his plot, fent him 50.men, whom Ragnaris imprisoned, and fent word to Bacurius, that if he meant to have his Soulders, he must restore to him his Gothish Hostages. Bacurius led out his Forces against him, leaving some few to guard Otranto. Upon this Ragnaris killed the 50. Souldiers, and fallied out against the Romans, and in fight was defeated, lost many men, and ran away into Acherentia, Tarentum being blockt up by the Romans. The

4nno 26. Juft. Rome now had been taken five times in bis Raigne.

Romans

Romans foon after took Portus by composition, and Nepa in Tuscany, and Petra?

Pertusa. Teias sinding his Goths too weak for the Romans, sent to Thendebald King of the Francks, importuning him with the offer of great sums of Money to joyne with him. But the Francks took the resolution best for themselves, not to bestow their lives upon Goths nor Romans, but to adventure them onely in the Conquest of Italy for themselves.

### CHAP. XXI.

UT Narses (hearing how Totilas had layd the most part of his Treasures in the Castle of Cuma in Campania, with a strong Garrison under his owne Brother & Herodian) fent to befiege the fayd Castle, staying himselfe at Rome to repaire the ruines, and fent others to besiege Centumcella. Teias fearing the losse of this Castle, and the Treasures; and having no hope from the Francks, commanded his Troops to be ready for a Battell with the Romans. Narfes finding his intention, commanded John and Philemuth, to martch with their Forces into Tuscany, to stop the Enemies passage into Campania, and to affist in the taking of Cuma. But Teias left his neerer way, which was to the right hand, and made a huge compasse; passing along the Sea coast of the Jonian Gulfe into Campania. Narses thereof advertised, remanded John and Philemuth, and sent for Valerianus, who belieged Petra-Pertusa, and with his whole Army, in order to fight, martcht into Campania. Mount Vesuvius in Campania ( as I have sayd before ) often fends out a noise like the lowing of Oxen, which is ever accompanied with a vomiting out of huge quantity of Cynders. Besides (as Mount Etna in Sicily) in the middle it hath made it felfe hollow from the top to the bottome, and below the fire burnes perpetually: The fire is so deep, that peeping in from the top, you cannot eafily discerne it. When the Mountaine vomits, the flame forces off peices of rocks from the highest ridges of it, shooting up the smaller pieces farr above the Mountaine, and icattering the greater round about. From the top also of this Mountain runs a Torrent of fire to the foot of it, and something further, as in Mount Atna. This fiery stream on either fide makes high bancks, undermining the ground below; and when the flame comes upon it, it lookes like a flood of water fet on fire. So foon as the flame is quencht the stream stops its course; and the Sediment or Lees of that fiery substance looks like dry Mud, and heaps of Cynders. At the foot of the Mountaine are wholesome Springs, from which comes the River Draco close to the City of Nuceria: On either fide of this River both Armies encamped; it hath a smal stream but not to be past, being deep, as having worne out the ground under the bancks very low. The Bridge which is upon it the Goths had gotten, and being encamped neer it, they had made upon it wooden Towers, and many Engines, and let up Baliff as to shoot downe upon the Enemy. This River being such, there was no possibility for a close standing Battell. So that each part got as neer as they durst to the banks, and plyed one another with Arrows. Some Duels there were also, fometimes Romans and fometimes Goths passing over the Bridge, and challenging all comers. Two moneths were thus confumed; and while the Goths were Matters of the Sea, their Campe being neer the Sea, was supplyed with provisions: But after the Romans had gotten their Shipps by the Treason of the Commander of them a Goth, and were re-enforced also with many other Ships out of Sicily and other Roman Dominions; and that Narfes had fet up wooden Towers upon the Rivers bank, the Goths hearts were absolutely dejected; and for feare and famine were faine to flye up to a Mountaine neer there, called Mens Lattis. The Romans for the fastneffes could not come at them: But the Geths being there in more want, and having no way to get any provision for themselves or their Horses, repenting their coming up, and choosing rather to dye by fight then to starve, came suddenly upon the Romans, who stood against them as they could, being taken unexpectedly, not being embattailed, nor under their feverall Captaines; not any way in order, nor at all obterving what was commanded them. The Goths quitted their Horses, and stood in a deep Battalion; the Romans left their Horses and stood in front likewise. This fight,

fight, and the valour of Teias in it, deserves a long discourse, being equall to that of the ancient Heroes. Delpaire made the Goths venture all, and the Romans stood them, though seeing them mad, yet ashamed to yeild to beaten men; and so the one weary of their lives, the other for demonstration of valour, fought with much fury, beginning in the morning betimes. Teias accompanied with some few stood in the first ranck in open view, holding out his Sheild and shaking his Lance. A great number of Remans knowing that by his fall the Battell would be ended, combined themselves against him, some charging, some throwing their darts at him. Which he received all upon his Shield, and then flew out, and killed many. His Sheild being fluck thick with Darts, he gave it to one of his Targetiers and took another. He continued thus a third part of the day, when he had twelve Darts sticking on his Sheild, that he could not move it as he would, nor beat off the Affailants. Yet he quitted not his ranck, nor gave the Enemy an inch of ground; he did not so much as turne his body, or rest his back upon his Sheild; but stood upright, as if he were pitcht into the ground, killing with his right hand, and warding with his Sheild: and calling by name his Targetier to give him a new Sheild, for his old was loaded with Darts. And in that instant, his breast lying open, was hit with a Javelin, upon which he immediately dyed. The Souldiers put his head upon a long Pole, and shewed it to encourage the Romans, and to cause the Goths to despaire, and to quit the fight. But the Goths, though they faw their King flaine, yet gave it not over, and at night both retyred, and lay in their Armour. Early the next day they began again, and fought till night, not turning to any fide, nor giving back; and though many were loft, yet their favage hatred held them still buckled to one another: The Gaths knowing it to be their last fight, and the Romans disdaining to be overmatcht. At last the Goths sent Agents to Narses, to tell him; That they perceived their fight to be with God himselfe, and saw the power which stood against them; and their true estate now, by their former successe; that they would lay aside desperate resolutions, upon condition not to be put under the subjection of the Emperour, but to live free with some other Barbarian Nation. They intreated the Romans also to afford them a peaceable retreat, and in a moderate confideration of their fortune, to bestow their owne Goods upon them for their journey, such as they had left in any Castles of Italy. Narses held a consultation hereupon, where John advised him to grant the Petition, and to contend no more with men weary of their lives, nor to ftirr a courage growing from desperation, which commonly proves fatall, bothto the men possessed with it, and to such as encounter them. To moderate men ( quoth he ) it is enough to be Victorious, whereas the defire of too much may end in some inconvenience. Narses allowing the advice, they agreed upon conditions, That the Goths should have their Goods, and immediately go out of Italy, and that they should never bear Armes against the Remans. About a thousand Goths of this Company went away to Picenum, and the parts beyond the River Poe, commanded by Ildulph and some others; the residue stayd and ratified this agreement by their oaths: And the Romans took in Cuma and all the rest. And so ended the eighteenth year of the Gothick Warr, written by Procopins.

Finis Lib. 4. Fell. Goth.

Δόξα σοὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοί.

FINIS.

